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EMBLEM AND MOTTO

The WEALTH, both MATERIAL and CULTURAL, of the PAST, from which has arisen the WEALTH of the PRESENT and from which will grow the WEALTH of the FUTURE, is the subject-matter of ARCHAEOLOGY. THE WEALTH of the three Kālas is symbolised as

Ś R Ī

Seated on Purity, the LOTUS, which rises from Plenty, the WATERS, and in the midst of the Hordes of Substances, the NIDHIS, the Treasures,—which, though symbolically nine, are usually mentioned, for clarity, as two, the ŚANKHA (Conch) and the PADMA (Lotus) NIDHIS,—shone upon by the Light given off by the Substances and lustrated by ELEPHANTS who are the Showerers of the WEALTH of the QUARTERS, SHE causes WEALTH to be attained to by EFFORT, without any giving by Her and without any coming by Her to give, She lacking feet that could walk and hands that could give.

VIJÑĀNAM BRAHMA

KNOWLEDGE IS TRUTH

The ancient injunction is: MEDITATE ON KNOWLEDGE obtained from SPECIAL ENQUIRY, FOR IT IS TRUTH. The Archaeologist, in his specialised ways, seeks Knowledge for Truth.

The SKETCH copies a sculptured piece of about the 9th century A.D., from Kāvēripākkam, near Kāñchīpuram.

The MOTTO, which is taken from *Taittirīya* Upanishad, being in Samskṛta, is also rendered in the representative languages of the South, and is written in the most ancient characters used for the several languages, as well.

PREFACE

This, the fifth volume of the Transactions, continues the task of unravelling the mysteries of the past, the unearthing of monuments, epigraphs and statues, the deciphering of scripts, and the exposition of the various patterns of Art and Architecture througnout the twelve regions of our vast country. There is no land on earth so full of cultures and monuments like India, which is a regular paradise for archaeologists and historians, and is, unlike Assyria, Sumeria and Babylonia, not dead but very much alive and still progressing. Though one uncharitable foreign critic said, some years ago,

"Mother India is fallen,
She can never rise again;
She is cast down for ever.
None on earth can raise her up",

his gloomy prophecy has been falsified. India was old when England was young, and she is young when England is old. We are going to have the centenary celebrations of the Archaeological Survey of India towards the close of this year, inviting the representatives of many other nations. We are also taking an active part in World Affairs. So it cannot be said that we are only the dead remains of a dead Past. It behoves us not to ignore the Past or the Future, but to realise that our Present is the child of the Past, and our Future the child of the Present. No old thought or concept really dies. It reappears in a new and better form. As John Masefield has said,

"I hold that when a person dies,
His soul returns again to earth,
Arrayed in some new flesh disguise.
Another mother gives him birth;
With sturdier limbs and brighter brain,
The old soul takes the road again."

Thus we find the ideas of the *Pushpaka Vimana* and Space travel, of deadly nuclear weapons killing crores at a time, of the emergence and submergence of whole worlds, referred to in the Pura-

nas and depicted so vividly in our sculptures and paintings, recurring in modern times in more vivid forms.

Our Society has been carrying on for the last 26 years with practically no funds, levying a nominal subscription of three rupees per year, often left in arrears, the Transactions being printed for the last five years with a grant from the Madras Government. Our real treasure consists in the unfailing enthusiasm and energy of our members and friends, and their indefatigable zeal in the cause of India's Past with a view to serve India's Future.

The present volume begins with an interesting paper read by Professor M. M. Bhat on "Kannada Literature through Inscriptions", beginning with the Palmidi inscription of 450 A.D. in *Purvada Halagannada,* and going on to later inscriptions in *Halagannada* and *Nadugannada* and *Hosagannada.* Mr. Bhat deals critically with these inscriptions and their dates, like a modern historian. A sober scholar, he does not revel in millenia. We get next, an excellent paper read by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Archaeology of the University of Madras, on the Mallam Inscription of Nandipottarasar, of the 8th century A.D., in his usual clear, lucid and impressive style. We come next to the brilliant paper on the Evolution of Iconographic Concepts, Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist, by Mr. P. R. Srinivasan. It is well known that India is famous for such images, both in number, size and artistic beauty, sometimes foreigners also contributing to it, as in the case of the Gandhara Buddhas. One has to reflect a little before realising the depth of the beauty of these images. Thus, a Chola Nataraja bronze of the 11th century A.D. shows Statistics in Dynamics, Dynamics in Statistics, Motion in Repose, and Repose in Motion, and combines this world and the next in one marvellous sweep of curves. The serenity of the Buddha image of Gandhara or Sanchi is unsurpassed. The group of images comprising Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman, makes an unforgettable impression on us. So, too, Krishna playing on the flute, shows the sport of Life and Death, and the mystery and continuity of existence. Likewise, the images of Uma and Maheswara and Radha and Krishna. Last in the volume, but not the least, is a fascinating paper on New Bronze Finds from Tiruvenkadu by our present Secretary, Sri R. Nagaswamy, the Curator of the Madras Museum. His exposition of the *Ardhanarisvara* image is deep and penetrating and helps to bring out its full meaning. His interpretation of the

Nataraja image is equally interesting though somewhat different from Mr. Srinivasan's.

There is an article on Literary and Ethnographic references to the *Tali* and *Tali* Rite, contributed by Mr. C. J. Jayadev. It shows how the *Tali,* as the sole marriage ornament, took a thousand years of culture to establish itself in South India, not being known at the time of the marriage of Kovalan and Kannagi in the second century A.D. when the Vedic Rite of the *Sapta Pati,* which still continues, was the main ritual. Dr. M. Rama Rao has contributed an interesting article on the Chalukyan temples of Sathyavolu in Kurnool district. Messrs. Krishnamurthi and Gururaja Rao, Lecturers in Archaeology in the University of Madras, have dealt with the progress of Archaeology from 1956-57, till which year it has been summarised in a previous volume, and brought it up-to-date in all its aspects of unravelling Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Microlithic, Chalcolithic, and Megalithic Cultures, as also historical monuments, sculptures, coins etc. Then there is an article on "Pandya Genealogy and Sri Nammalvar" by Pandit Raghava Ayyangar, rendered into English by his son, Sri Narayana Ayyangar, and interpreted by Sri Aravamuthan.

We had, in addition, lectures by Sri Bannerjee, Superintendent, Excavation Branch, on Excavations at Ujjain, by Mr. William Willets on "Historical connection between China and Ceylon" by Sri B. B. Lal, Director of School of Archaeology, New Delhi, on "Excavations at Kalibangan," a third major site of the Harappa Civilization recently discovered in Rajastan, and by Professor Gebhard on "American Archaeology," a subject not so widely known here till recently. These lectures, it is hoped, will appear in a future volume of the Transactions, and will be of profound interest. Sri Lal, for instance, showed that the writing in the inscriptions at Kalibangan was from *right to left,* which, if correct, will furnish a key to the unravelling of the hitherto undeciphered Indus Valley Inscriptions. I am sure that the readers will agree that this volume does not fall behind its predecessors in quality and interest and wealth of illustrations.

In conclusion, I thank the Government of Madras for their generous grant, all the speakers and contributors for their speeches and papers, the members for their hearty co-operation and increased attendance at meetings; the editorial sub-committee for the

trouble it has taken in selecting the articles, editing the volume, and seeing it through the press; the South Indian Teachers Union for having kindly permitted us to make use of some of their blocks, and the G. S. Press for the neat printing and get-up of the volume.

"Gita", Madras-6.
22-9-1961.

A. S. P. Ayyar,
President.

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KANNAḌA LITERATURE THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS*

BY

PROFESSOR M. M. BHAT,

Head of the Department of Kannada, University of Madras

There are innumerable Kannada inscriptions throughout Karṇāṭaka and parts of adjoining regions. Between the 7th and 17th centuries A.D. there was a rich harvest of them. Most of them have been ably deciphered and published in the valuable series of journals such as the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the *Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica, the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, South Indian Inscriptions and the Mysore Archaeological Reports.* It is not possible for most of us to go into all of them and realise the inestimable value of these treasures of culture. Indeed these inscriptions constitute a great heritage. Some of them are excellent specimens of literary compositions which throw a flood of light on the historical, political, social and religious conditions of the times to which they relate and help us to reconstruct the history of the respective periods. Knowing their dates, we will be in a position to trace the history of the development of the Kannaḍa language through the ages.

I propose to place before you a few facts about literature and language as gleaned from some of the Kannaḍa inscriptions surveyed at random.

First of all I will confine myself to the linguistic aspect and then pass on to the literary aspect.

Students of Kannaḍa linguistics have found it convenient to demarcate four stages in the growth and development of Kannaḍa language (1) Pūrvada Haḷagannaḍa or the Pre-Old-Kannaḍa period; (2) Haḷagannaḍa or the Old-Kannada period; (3) Naḍugannaḍa or the Middle Kannaḍa period; and (4) Hosagannaḍa or Modern Kannaḍa period. This division has been possible after

* A paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India on 6-11-1959.

an analysis of the linguistic data embedded in literary works and inscriptions, arranged in a chronological order. Some good work on right lines has been done in this direction with regard to early Kannaḍa inscriptions by Dr. A. N. Narasimhayya (*Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions*) and Dr. G. S. Gai (*Historical Grammar of Old-Kannaḍa*). The doyen of historical research in Karṇāṭaka, Prakta Vimarśa Vicakṣaṇa, the late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar had done pioneering work in this field. His works, *History of Kannada Language* and *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets* contain much useful information on Kannaḍa linguistics and literature respectively.

Pūrvada-Haḷagannaḍa or the Pre-Old-Kannaḍa has the following characteristics which were noticed in the language till about the end of the 8th century.

1. The lengthening of the medial vowel of the conjugative forms in the third person, *e.g.*,

(i) *sandān, paḍadān, ēṛidār,* [Cf. Tamil *ēṛidār*]
(ii) *sandōn, kondōn,* [Cf. Tamil *koṉṟoṉ*]

2. The lengthening of the vowel in the suffixes of the negative mood, *e.g.*,

tappāde, kūḍāde. (just as in Tamil)

3. The lengthening of the vowel of the accusative suffix, *e.g.*, *kallān* (*kallān ēṛidān* etc.)

4. The lengthening of the genitive and adjective suffix, *e.g.*, *narakadā, avarā* etc.

5. The use of *uḷ* for the locative suffix, *e.g.*, *veṭṭaduḷ, dharaṇiyuḷ.*

6. The retention of *v* initial. The *b* innovation is later in the next stage. (Cf. Tamil and other Dravidian languages)

veṭṭa; vandu; viṭṭār (Palmidī Inscriptions).

However 'b' (initial) had started entering in some of the inscriptions of 700 A.D.[1]

7. The use of long consonants in certain contexts which is unknown in later Kannaḍa, *e.g.*,

talekkāḍu, taleppore.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 61 *Bādāmi Inscription*, 1.4. *biṭṭa.*

Here are a few examples from the earlier Kannaḍa inscriptions which will enable us to note the characteristics of the Pūrvada-Haḷagannaḍa:

> *Svasti śrimat pṛittivīvallabha Mangalīśanā kalmanege ittodu Lañjigesaram. Dēvarkke pūniruva mālakārargge ardda visadi, ittodānalivōn pañcamahā pātakanakum ēḷaneyā narakadā puḷu akum.*[2]

The above inscriptional passage belonging to 6th century A.D. is in prose. It is about a grant made by Lañjigeśara to the garland makers of Maṅgaḷīśa's temple with the usual blessings (for those who protect the grant) and curses (for those who destroy it). The following characteristics of the language are noteworthy:

> Long genitive suffix ā: Maṅgaḷīśanā: Maṅgaḷisa's *Odu,* a neuter suffix: *ittodu* (that which is given).

The practice of writing long consonants in triples like-rkk-: *dēvarkke* and *-rdd-*: *ardda* and other characteristics mentioned earlier. These will undoubtedly throw light on the phonetic nature of the then utterances.

From a study of these characteristics, together with palaeography, it is possible to settle satisfactorily the dates of certain inscriptions, e.g. The Palmidi inscription is placed round about 450 A.D. Besides paleographic considerations, it contains certain archaic forms of words belonging to the Pre-Old-Kannaḍa period such as

> (*Arikakustha*) *bhaṭṭōr*(*an*), *nāḍul, appōr, āhavaduḷ, pogaḷeppoṭṭaṇa, dēsadā, koṭṭār,* and *aḷdon*

This Pre-Old-Kannaḍa seems to have gradually changed into the Old-Kannaḍa (the language employed by Pampa, Ponna and Ranna) round about the 9th century. [*Kavirāja mārga,* the earliest extant Kannaḍa work (9th century) is written in Haḷagannaḍa (Old-Kannaḍa)] Haḷagannaḍa, with its regular case-endings and tense signs, the medial nasals, and consonant word finals became very handy to the Champū poets. Old-Kannaḍa maintains the distinction between the letters *r*, *ṛ* and *l*, *ḷ* and almost all the Desī words with *p* initial retain the *p* which in medieval Kannada invariably changes into 'h'. After the advent of the Vīraśaiva writers (headed by Harihara) in the 12th century, the

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 59.

language took a turn to the medieval Kannaḍa (Naḍu-Gannada) which takes great liberty with language in the matter of grammar and vocabulary. There is no rigidity in regard to the use of case suffixes and tense signs. New suffixes like *-alli* (locative), *-uta* (tense suffix), disappearance of the distinction between ḷ and ḻ, change of *p* to *h*, new derivatives from Sanskrit, losing of medial nasals, change of consonant endings into vowel endings, are some of the major characteristics of Nadugannada. During this period the Shatpadi poetical works became very popular; the peculiarities of Nadugannada suited well with the Shatpadi, Tripadi, Ragale and such other native metres. Champū works abounding in *Varṇa-Vṛttas* became less popular. Round about the 19th century, the time of Mummadi Krishna Raya of Mysore, (1794-1868), we can say that modern Kannaḍa crystallised itself. More prose works began to appear giving rest to the never ending verse. Many of the old words became obsolete. New loans from diverse sources flowed in. The last relic of the Old-Kannaḍa *-r* (*śakṭa repha*)- merged with the r (rēpha). All these morphological changes are attested in the several inscriptions spread over a period of 1500 years, (5th to 19th centuries) and scattered all over Karṇāṭaka.

These are the important stages in the development of Kannaḍa language, the knowledge of which might enable us to place certain documents with regard to chronology where chronology is lacking.

If we begin to look into the historical side of the Kannada inscriptions, we find that most of them relate to the incidents which took place during the periods when the Kadambas, Chāḷukyas, the Gaṅgas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Chōḷas, the Kālachūryas, the Hoysaḷas, the Sevuṇas and Vijayanagar kings ruled the country. Some of them have direct references to rulers and others refer to high dignitaries or chieftains subordinate to the great kings. In almost all the inscriptions, details regarding the dynasty of the ruler, the *locus standi* of the donor (if the ruler is not the donor) and the donee, the nature of the gifts etc. would be given. However, besides these, there are the *nishīdigals* (epitaphs recording the death by starvation of Jaina monks and nuns), *Vīragals* (memorials of heroes who fell in the battle) and *mastikals* (stone slabs erected in memory of great women).

Some of the inscriptions are excellent literature. They are either in prose or poetry. Composers of some of the inscriptions were poets who have other great works to their credit, e.g. Janna,

a great poet of the 12th century, author of the famous *Yaśodhara-charite* and *Anantanātha Purāṇa* wrote the *Tarikere* (45) and *Chennarāya Paṭṭaṇa* (179) inscriptions.

Palmiḍi śāsana (c. 450 A.D.) is considered to be the oldest Kannaḍa inscription. The language employed is Pūrvada Halagannaḍa and it is composed in prose: when Kadambapan was ruling Aridaviḷe-nāḍu, Mṛigēśa and Nāgēśa gifted two villages namely Palmaḍi and Mūḷivaḷḷi to Vija Araśa who had defeated the Kēkeya Pallavas.

From the point of composition, we find merit in it. There is a fluent style with good idiom, figures of speech and readability which bear tsetimony to the fact that even by then Kannaḍa had acquired a classic way of writing.

Following are some of the exquisite gems of Kannada enshrined in the inscriptions belonging to the seventh century A.D. I.A. Vol. X, p. 61 (Fleet): Under Badami No. LXXXIV, c. 700 A.D. *Text* :

Sādhuge sādhu mādhuryange mādhuryan
bādhippa Kalige Kaliyuga
viparītan mādhavanītan peṛanalla
Oḷḷitta keyvorār, polladumadaṛante
ballittu Kalige viparītā
purākritamilli sandhikkumadu bandu ||

kaṭṭida singhman keṭṭodēnamagendu
biṭṭa vōl kalige viparīta
gahitarkaḷ keṭṭar mēṇ sattaravicāram ||

This is the earliest Tripadi metre noticed in the range of Kannada literature. Its meaning.

That is good to that which is good and sweetness to sweetness; and he, who is an exceptional man in the Kaliyuga; he is Madhava and nothing less. Who are they that do what is good? They cannot be likened to him. Having recognised this, ... let them be here effected a reconciliation with the Kali. And so when the enemies of him who was an exceptional man in the Kali (age) saying "What is this to us" came to injure and destroy the eminence that he had achieved; they were worsted and they died; as to him there can be no doubt.

Text :

Māsēnar paramaprabhāva ṛṣiyar Kaḷvappinā veṭṭaduḷ
śrī sanghangaḷa pēḷda siddha samayam tappāde nōntimbinin
prāsādāntaramān vicitra kanaka prajvalyadin mikkudān
sāsirvar vara pūje danduye avar svargāgramān ēṛidār ||

Sravana Belgola 27 (C.A.D. 700. *Masenar's ascention to Heaven*: Māsēnar, a rishi of supreme glory, having in the mountain Kaḷvappu, correctly observed the vow in consonance with the rules of the siddhas enunciated by the Sanghas, ascended the high heaven, full of palaces and shining with the splendour of variegated gold, being conveyed with high honour by the thousand (Gods?)

Text :

Sura cāpambōle vidyullategaḷa teṛa vōl mañju vōl tōṛi bēgam
pirigum śrīrūpa līlā dhana vibhava mahārāśigaḷnillavārgam
paramārtham meccenānī dharaṇiyuḷ iravān endu sanyāsanan gey-
duru sattvan nandi sēna pravara munivaran dēva lōkakke sandān.

Sravana Belgola 88 cir. 700 A.D. *Nandisēna-muni* entered upon Sanyāsana and retired to Heaven. Fleeting are the treasures of beauty, pleasure, wealth and power like the rainbow, like the streaks of lightning or like the dew, to every one. This is the supreme truth. I do not like the existence in the earth. Thus saying, the chief of sages, the strong minded Nandisēna, adopted Sanyāsa and went to the world of Gods.

Lastly a composition from a Vīragal (hero stone) is instanced. It belongs to the 9th century.

Indian Antiquary Vol. XX, pp. 69.

In this the heroic act of Śambhu (a *vēḷevaḍica*) is extolled. As he had promised to the King Parahita of Chalukya dynasty, he entered into a big fire and attained Heaven. [*Vēḷevaḍicas* are loyal members of the emergency squad, ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the king]

Text :

Pogalalke, alumbam appa olpugalane tanagavane śāśvatam mādi dhaga
ddhagita śikhi sekeya kole nage mogadim śambhu-vane śambhu neneyuttirdam ||

When the crackling fire appropriated to itself all heat, Śambhu having appropriated to himself good qualities which were too great to be enumerated with a smiling face continued to think upon Śambhu (God).

Text :

Munnegalda vēlevadicarum innappōrum īgadullōrum bagevode avar
ninna annare ninna annare ninna annare ninage nīne doreyay śambhū

The *ananvayālankara* and the liquid *Sabdalankara* are so pleasing:

Among the *Vēlevadicas* that were gone before, that are to come and that are now, if we examine, are there any like you, any like you, any like you? Unto you only you can be likened.

Sāgara (1942): Gōnarasa, the commander under Jayasimha I the Chalukyan king, builds temples and tanks and makes a grant of a village to the Brāhmanas.

Here are some stanzas extolling the valour of Gōnarasa.

Text:

Dhuradol gōnuga bhūpa ninna niśitāstrāghatadim satta bhū
para pendir bisu suyye nīlva śikhi tannam mutte non-dindu ni
ttariśal tān anam ārade īśvara jaṭā jūṭāṭavī sindhu sī
varamam sēvisalirdanuntu śaśigam dēvangamē sam-madam ||

Oh! Gōnuga Bhūpa, when the heat emanated from the hot breath of the wives of the kings killed by the wounds caused with your sharp weapons, touched the moon, he could not tolerate it and straight off he went to enjoy the cool spray of the divine river in the matted crown of Lord Īśvara. That is the relationship between Śiva and the Moon.

Text:

Todarva virodhigentedeye mīruva vairige mūru kaṇṇe mār
nudivavanē caturbhujane maccaripannale barmanoḷ baram
bididane mīrī bāḷvodavanēn javanē kadikaydu kādalen
dodarisuvātanēn bhujagamardananē kaligōna bhūpanoḷ ||

Has the opposing enemy eight hearts, has the trespasser three eyes, has the person who talks against four shoulders, has the jealous enemy obtained boons from Brahmā, is he Yama himself, is he the queller of the arrogance of the Kāḷiya serpant, in order to prepare for a fight with the great warrior Gōna Bhūpa.

Ele kēḷ gōna mahīpa ninna yaśamam śrīkānte āśāntadoḷ
nelasirdu unmada danti danta yugadoḷ tannaḷtiyim kaṭṭidu
yyalanānandadoḷ ēṛi digvaniteyar tūgalke ninna oḷgunan
gaḷanālōḷa madāḷimandra madhura pradhvānadin pāḍidaḷ

Oh! Gōna Bhūpa, Goddess Lakshmī (Śrī) having happily mounted upon the swing tied to the two tusks of the elephant at the cardinal extremities and being rocked by the celestial ladies of the cardinal points, is sweetly singing your great glory.

What rich imagery, poetic convention, diction and fluency we find in the foregoing compositions.

Shikari Pura, 118 (1054)

An inscription wherein one Vaḍḍavyavahāri Sōvi Śeṭṭi is said to have installed the Abhinava Someśvara *linga* at Beḷḷigave and made grants of land during the reign of Chāḷukya Āhavamalla (Trailokyamalla). A few stanzas therefrom:

In a beautiful *Yathāsankhyālankāra* obeisance is paid to the Trinity.

Text:

Srīvāṇī girijādhipar garuḍa hamsōkṣāsanar vārdhirā
jīvādrīndra nivāsigaḷ madhupa raktāmbhōruhēndu prabhar
dēvar satva rajastamō guṇayutar dwi-asta-trinētrōtpalar
gōvindābjaja śankara tripuruṣar pālikke nimmam ciram ||

May the Lords of Śrī Vāṇī and Girijā, those seated on Garuḍa, swan, and bull, those dwelling on the sea, the lotus, and the king

of Mountains, those gods having the lustre of the dark bee, the blood-red lotus and the moon, those with the attributes of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, those with two, eight and three eyes, namely the three lords, Vishnu, Brahmā and Śiva, protect you for long.

In a beautiful *Śleṣālankāra*, *Āhavamalla* is extolled thus:

Text :

mēru girīndradante vibudhāśrayan isvaranante umēśanā
śāradanīndranante adhika dānan ahīśwaranante viśvabhū
bhāra bhara kṣamam vidhuvinante kalāspadan abdhiyante la
kṣmīramaṇīya janma nilayam negaḷdahavamalla vallabham ||

Illustrious Āhavamalla Vallabha was vibudhāśraya like the Mērugiri, Umēśa (Lord of fame) like Iśvara adhika dānam like the cardinal elephant, capable of carrying the load of the universe like Ahīśvara, craftsman like Brahmā and the birth place of Lakshmī like the ocean.

Text :

pravimaḷa kīrtiyoḷ vibhavadoḷ sucaritradoḷ ārpinoḷ mahā
hava jayadoḷ gunōnnatiyoḷ āhava mallanoḷ ām samānamem
bavanipanēn yayātiyo bhagīrathanō purukutsutanō purū-
ravano dilīpanō bharatanō naḷanō nahuṣāvanīśanō

For any king to say that he is an equal to Āhavamalla in spotless fame and glory, in good character, in valour, in great conquest or in the light of good qualities, is he Yayāti, Bhagīratha, purukutsa, Purūrava, Dilīpa, Bharata, Naḷa, or king Nahusha?
Shikaripura 13, (1068)

Pasāyita Lakshmarasa, a subordinate of Chalukya Bhuvanaka Malla, renovated the Jaina basadi (of Mallikāmōda (Śantinātha Dēva) at Baḷḷigāve.

Some of the passages (all in verse) are exquisite compositions :

Text :

Aṇugāḷ kāryada śauryadāḷ vijayadāḷ cāḷukya rājyakke kā
raṇamādāḷ tuḷilāḷtanakke neredāḷ kaṭṭāyadāḷ mikka ma-
nnaṇeyāl māntanadāḷ negaḷtevaḍedāḷ Vikrrāntadāḷ mēladāḷ
raṇadāḷ āḷdana naccuvāveḍeyoḷam viśvāsadāḷ lakṣmaṇam ||

Lakṣmaṇa was a beloved person, brave in action, a man of conquest, person responsible for the building up of Chalukya empire, hero of great battles, a man of discipline, a man of honour, a man of wise counsels, a man who had achieved fame, a happy companion, a great warrior, a man always worthy of confidence.

In a Yamaka wherein he employs sweet liquids, he describes :

Text :

Balivaleva maleva keleva adaṭaleva paḷancaleva malepare-
lvam muṟidam
maleyada keleyada baliyada maleparanisuvesake besasi-
dan lakṣmanripam

Lakshmaṇa would break the bones of those prone to arrogance, vagaries, opposition, bragging etc. and would order service from the rest.

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI are pieces of literature par excellence.

E.I. XVI. 31. (1102) *Laksmeswar*

Mādhava Daṇṇāyaka's grant to the Somesvara temple at Purigere.

Kadanadoḷāntaram tuḷidu kolva eḍeyoḷ layakāla kālanem
budu baḍapaṭṭu bēḍida avarge īvoḍe jangama kalpa vrikṣa-
mem
budu śaraṇendu bandu oḷase kāva eḍeyoḷ drḍha vajra
gēham em
budu manadaḷkarim vibudha maṇḍali mādhava daṇḍa
nāthanam

Mādhava Daṇḍanātha is the Yama of final destruction in sacking and killing those that attack; he is the walking celestial (Kalpavrkṣha) tree in giving to the needy; he is the strong diamond citadel that seek his protection—So extol the learned.

E.I. XIII, 41 (1112) At Iṭṭagi (Modern Iṭṭige)

The self same Daṇṇāyaka Mahādēva under Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI built temples at Iṭṭagi (Modern Iṭṭige, which is now under the water of the Tungabhadra Dam) and donated lands. The inscription is in an old Kannada verse upto line 69; from lines 69—96 it is in Nadugannada style.

As an excellent specimen of literature contained in inscriptions, verses are quoted in extenso from this inscription:

Prayer to Vishnu, Verse 4

Śrī rāmā ramaṇīya nētra śaphara krīḍāspadam kāya kān
tyārūḍha pracurāmbu kaustubha gabhasti vyakta kiñjalka vi
stāram lōcana puṇḍarīka jaṭhara svarṇābja ramyam sama
stārādhyam kamalā karambolesedam lakṣmī manō vallabham ||

Vishnu is compared to a lotus pond: It is the place for the sport of the eye-fish of Lakṣhmi, wherein the body lustre (blue) is suggestive of flowing water, the serene rays from Kaustubha look like lotus filaments (Kiñjalka), the blue lotuses of his eyes and the golden lotus from his belly are charming—that is the Lord of Lakshmi—worshipped by all.

Verses 5 to 20 give in mellifluous poetry an account of the lineage of kings from Brahma Dēva down to the Chalukyas.

Verse 20:

Para vamśōmnati pōlalārkkume tadīya śrīyanembaamtira
ccariyam tāḷdi mamakke vamdesegumantassāramuddāmabam
dhuraśākham driḍha mūlamūrjjita phalam niṣkampamagrāgra sum
daramacchidramakanṭakam bhuvandadoḷ cālukya vamśōdayam ||

(Here the orthography followed by Fleet is the same as found in the original inscriptions. The use of medial -m-, long consonants such as -rjj-, rkk- are noteworthy. They throw a flood of light on the phonetic features).

The fortune of the Chalukya race in the world strikes the mind with wonder, as if we should ask whether the exaltation of other dynasties could equal their prosperity; it is full of sap, possessing vigorous and beautiful branches firmly rooted rich in fruit, unshaken, beautiful to the summit, without flaw, without thorns.

Verse 26:

Herefrom the more commonly accepted (later) orthography is adopted:

Text:

Kamaṭhādhiśana bennoḷirdu phaṇirājōdyat phaṇāgrakke van
du mahī kāmini diggagja vrajada kumbhāgrangaḷam meṭṭi vi
krama cakrēśanudagramappa bhujamam bandēṛidaḷ rāgadin
damidēnunnatamāyto dakṣiṇabhujam cālukya cakrēśanā ||

The lady of the Earth (Mahīkāminī), after resting on the back of the Lord of Tortoises, going to the hood of the great serpent king, having tread over the Kumbhasthalas of the Elephants of the Cardinal points, ascended the lofty shoulders of Chalukya Emperor with great affection.

Verse 30:

pudidu podaḻda vikrama vijṛmbhaṇamam toṛedāḻvesakke pū
ṇdodavida bhītiyindeṛagalanya nṛpāvaḷi pāda pīṭhadoḷ
padanakha darpaṇangaḷoḷagā ripu bhūpara rūpu candra bim
bada mṛgadantiripuvu negaḻteya vikrama cakravartīyā

As a bee to the lotus feet of the illustrious Emperor Vikṛama, a sharp edge to the sword of his arms, a protection to his authority, fresh youth to the Lady of the Earth, auspicious time for the Fortune of the Kingdom (Rājya Lakshmi), extension for his glory, warmth to his lustre, did the land of Kuntaḷa esteem mahādeva.

Then a graphic account of the family history of Mahādeva is given. Herein a description of his ancestors' native place, the Mahāgrahāra Ittage appears. This is a splendid piece of literature, besides history.

Verse 35:

An equisite description of Iṭṭage:

***Text*:**

Idu kanakādriyante vibudhāśrayamintidu nōḍa nāgalō
kada volananta bhōgi jana sēvitamintidu dugdha vārdhīyam
dade puruṣōttama sthitikaram dhanadācaḷadandadindamin
tiduve mahēsvwaravasthamennadarāro tadagrahārmam.

It is like the golden mountain (Meru) a home of Vibhudhas (gods or sages); behold, it is like the Nagas' world haunted by ananta-bhōgi-jana [Ananta and other snakes or innumerable happy folk]; after the fashion of the Milk Ocean, it gives lodgings to Purushothama (Vishnu or excellent men); after the manner of the mountain of the Lord of Wealth, it is a dwelling place of Mahesvara, (Siva, or great lords) who is there that does not (thus) speak of this Brahman estate?

Verse 36:

Āḍuva sōge pāḍuvaḷigaḷ naḍapāḍuva hamse pañcamam
bāḍuva gaṇḍu gōgile kelar nuḍidantuṭanāgaḷante mā-
tāḍuva rājakīramolavaḷkisalāradagaldu pūvinam
bāḍe latāvanambugugva nallavaralliya nandanagaḷol

Dancing peacocks, singing bees, swans walking about, cock cuckoos warbling the panchama note; rose ringed parrots prattling exactly as some persons have previously spoken, lovers entering the groves of creeping plants when the bow of flowers is at work, vibrating without being able to exhaust its delight (are found) in this park.

Verse 38:

Kalimaśakartha dhūmamenisirda negaḻteya homa dhū-
mama
ggaḷisi nabhambaram miḷirdu nāka nadī pracura pravā-
hasam
valana vilāsa yāmuna jalōdgamamam mige jannavirpa
bhū-
valaya vinūta vipravararimdesedirpudadetta nōḻpoḍam ||

It appears on all sides radiant with noble Brahmans, famous over the encircling earth, holding sacrifices whereof the glorious smoke of oblations, which is as it were a smoke for the purpose of (driving away) the gnat of the Kali age expanding and swelling up even to the sky, surpasses the outpouring of Yamunā's waters marked by (their) union with the abundant stream of the Heavenly river.

Verse 39:

Avarindam vēda vidyā latike nimirdirdudā brahmaṇa
jyēṣṭharim bhū-

bhuvanam vēdōkta mārgānugam enisidadā bhūmidēvar-
kaḷoldi
kkuva nānā havya sandōhamana sura gaṇam pārdu koṇḍir-
puravi
pravarar percalke percittatividita parabrahmamā brahma
vaṃśam ||

Through them the creeping plant of Vedic lore grows high; by means of these excellent Brahmans the earth is said to pursue the path prescribed by the Vedas; the company of celestials wait for the series of divine oblations which these gods of earth joyfully present; as these worthy sages rise from excellence to excellence, this Brahman race perfectly understands the supreme Brahmā.

Verse 40:

Text:

Sakala vyākaraṇangaḷum vividha vēdārthangaḷum mūr-
tigoṇ
ḍu kalāśāstra samētamōlagise tammam brahma vidyā viśē
ṣa kara mlāna caritra pātraramala jñānārdhi sampannarī
sakala kṣōṇige pūjyariṭṭageya nālnūrvar dvijanmōtta-
mar ||

The noble Brahmans, *the four hundred of Iṭṭage,* in whom all grammars and various lore of the Vedas, together with the text-books of the arts, have assembled themselves in incarnation, are distinguished by (or, are specialists in) the knowledge of Brahma, vessels of unfading good conduct, possessors of the perfection of stainless wisdom, worshipped by the whole of this earth.

Verse 52:

Bhṛta gōtram śankha cakrōjvala yaśanaparimlāna śarīra
padma
sthita bhāsvad brahma tējam vibudha gaṇanutam
satyabhāmābhirāman
sthiti sāram śrīyutam vipravarapati jagatsēvyanendendu
lōkam
stutigeyyuttirpa nārāyaṇana mahimeyam baṇṇisal balla-
nāvam

Who is competent to extol the greatness of *Nārāyaṇa,* whom the world praises as being a suppòrter of his Gotra (or, uplifer of

a mountain), having fame as brilliant as Vishnu's conch and discus (or, brilliant with Vishnu's conch and discus), having radiant divine splendour residing in the lotus of his body, praised by hosts of sages (or, gods), charming with the radiance of truth (or, charming to Satyabhama), possessing the essence of established order, blessed (or, consort of Fortune), lord of worthy sages (or, of best radiance), worshipped of the universe.

Verses 53:

> Jagamellam tanagāśritar puruṣa kāram tanna mey tāne la
> kṣmige meymarcanoḍarcutirpa puruṣam puṇyādhikar tanna pō-
> lvege varpar peṟarilla sattvadudaym Brahma swarūpam prakā
> śa gurutvam tanagekka lāvaṇamenippam mūrtinarayanam ||

The whole universe was dependent on him; manliness was his very body; he was himself a man who aroused in Fortune a personal affection; there were no other men, however great their merit, who attained to resemblance of him; he was a *Murti-Nārāyaṇa* (an incarnate Nārāyaṇa), in whom were combined the manifestation of *sattva* (characteristic of Vishnu), the nature of Brahman, and profoundity of radiance (characteristic of Śiva).

Verse 55:

> Vimalācāra vicāra jāhnavi dharā dēvānganākāra dhā
> tri mahīlōka nilimpa nirmala kulāvirbhāva sāvitri mūr
> ti madātmēśwara puṇya lakṣmi nava nāmārundhatī dēvi ni
> tya mahatvāmbike yendu bannisadarār candrāmbikā dēviyam ||

A Ganges of study of stainless conduct, the Earth in the form of a Brahman lady, a Savitri appearing in a stainless race of Brahmanas, the incarnate spirit of her husband's merit, the goddess Arundhati under a modern name, a mother of eternal majesty; who extols not in these terms this *Candrikādevi*?

Verse 63:

> Dhare rangam kula parvatāḷi taḷagambangaḷ diśābhitti bhi
> tti rasālankrita citra putrikeyarā digdēviyar dēgulam
> girirajam kankādri pongaḷasamāgalkā mahādēvarā
> daradindettisidante dēvakulamoppirkum mahādēvanā

Mahādeva's temple appears as if the Great Gods had raised it in reverence with the earth as its terrace, the line of primitive mountains as its ground columns, the divisions of space as its walls, the goddesses of the Quarters as its cunningly carved statues adorned with taste, the Mountain King (Himālaya) as (*the body of*) the temple, the Golden Mountain (Meru) as its golden cupola.

Verse 64:

Udayādrīndradoḷ-arka bimbam-udayan geydantadam dān-
ṭalo-
llade nindalliya lōkamam beḷagutirpantirkum, uttungatā-
spada devāyatanagra hēma kalaśam śrīmanmahādēvana
bhyudaya śrī piḍidirpa pūrṇa kalaśam tanintidemban-
negam ||

The golden cupola on the summit of the god's dwelling, a seat of exaltation, looks as if it were the sun's orb that had arisen on the lordly mountain of sunrise, (*and*) staying there, unwilling to stop over it, was illuminating the world; it is in fact ever like a full pitcher held by the Goddess of Fortune *who presides over* the *Mahādeva's* prosperity.

Verse 71:

Sakala kalāsaraswatige vāṅmaya mūrtige vēdamūrtiga
prakaṭana mantra mūrtige amalākṣara mūrtigiralke
bhaktiyim
sakala kalā saraswatiye māḍisiḍam maṭhamam samasta śā
bdika kavi tārkikāgamika vaidika sākṣara sajjanāśrayam ||

He, a patron of all grammarians, poets, logicians, masters of tradition, professors of the Vedas, adepts in spells, and (*other*) worthy men, constructed a monastery in piety to Saraswati of all arts, represented by literature, Vedas, mystic formulae, (*and*) the holy Aksharas.

These are some of the excellent specimens of Kannaḍa compositions contained in inscriptions.

MALLAM INSCRIPTION OF NANDIPOTTARASAR*

By

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Mallam is now a small village in the southern extremity of the Gudur Taluk in the Nellore District and situated a few miles to the north of the Pulicat lake. It is also not far from the sea. The name Mallam would suggest that the place owed its origin to or had some association with the Pallava kings of Kāñcīpuram, to the names of many of whom the title *Malla* was used as a suffix. The place is however referred to in some inscriptions as Tiruvaṉbūr and described as situated as Okkāṭṭunāḍu in Kīḻpaṭṭaiyanāḍu in Paiyūr iḻaṅkōṭṭam in Jayaṅkoṇḍacōḻamaṇḍalam.

The village contains a temple dedicated to God subrahmaṇya. As many as twenty-eight inscriptions, all of them in Tamil, have been copied from the place and published by Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty in *The Inscriptions of the Nellore District.*[1] Fresh copies of them were taken by the Madras Epigraphy Department in 1908.[2] Only two of the inscriptions have been published in *The Inscriptions in the Nellore District.* One of them is dated in the 26th regnal year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttunga III "who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya". The other is the present inscription under study.[3] A third inscription from the place belonging to the period of the Pallava king Kampavarman has been published in *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XII.[4] The other inscriptions have not yet been published.

The inscription under study is inscribed on a stone fixed into the floor of the Subramaṇyeśvara temple at Mallam. It is a

* A paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India on 12-12-1960.

1. Part I, Nos. 53-80.
2. 488-515 of 1908.
3. Nos. 53 and 54.
4. *ARSIE.*, 498 of 1908; *S.I.I.*, XII, No. 106.

Tamil record dated in the fifteenth regnal year of the Pallava king Nandi pōttaraśar. It has not received the attention it deserves from the scholars who have worked on the history of the Pallavas so far. It has been practically ignored by them.

The inscription is a short one of ten lines entirely in the Tamil language and script with the exception of the expression *Svasti Śrī* at the commencement and Subrahmaṇya in line 3 which are written in the Grantha script. The stone on which the record is engraved is slightly damaged at the right and consequently a few letters at the end of each line are damaged. The ink impression published along with the text has not come out clearly. The script is beautiful and of the ornamental variety and closely resembles that of the Kaśākkudi[5] and Puḷḷūr[6] plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, and palaeographically it may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century A.D. The text of the inscription as given by its editors certainly requires correction, especially in the middle of the record which contains details of the gifts made. But that can be made only with a fresh and clear impression. The record as deciphered reads as follows:

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ[|*] நந்திப் பொத்தரசர்க்கு[ப்ப]
2. தினைந்தாவது பெய்யூரிள[ங்கோ]
3. ட்ட[த்*]து திருவான்பூர்
4. [வ்]வா[ற்]றெப் பொந் அயிம்[பத்தைங்க]
5. ழஞ்சி [கொ]ள்ளும் மது வாரட்டு [வித்த]
6. கழஞ்சு பொன்னும் விளக்க . . . .
7. [ப்]புறமாக ஆ[ளுவ] அரசர் வி[ண்ண]
8. ப்பத்தினாந் சளுக்கி அரசராண
9. த்தியாகப் பணித்தொம் நாட்டா
10. ரும் ஊராரும் ஆளுவாளும் அறமறவற்க.

1. Svasti Śrī [1*] Nandi-p-pōttaraśarkku [-p-pa]
2. dinaindāvadu Peyyūr-i-ḷa [ṅkō]
3. ṭṭa [t*] Tiruvānpūr Subrahmaṇya [n a]
4. [v]vā [r] re-p-pon ayim [battaiṅ-ka]
5. ḻañji [ko] ḷḷum madu vā r aṭṭu [vitta]
6. kaḻañju ponnum viḷakka
7. [p] puram āga Ā[ḷuva] araśar·vi[ṇṇa]
8. ppattinān Caḷukki-araśar āṇa
9. ttiyāga-p-paṇi ttōm [1*] nāṭṭā
10. rum ūrārum āḷuvāḷum aṟamaṟavaṟka

5. *S.I.I.*, II, pp. 342 ff.
6. *ARSIE*. for 1939-40 C.P. No. 9. It is under publication by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

- Hail! Prosperity! In the fifteenth year of the reign of Nandipōttaraśar, we the men of the district [*nāḍu*], the villagers and the heads of assemblies gave at the order of Caḷukki Araśar on the petition of Āḷuva Araśar to (the God) Subrahmaṇya at Tiruvāṇbūr (situated in Peyūriḷaṅ kōṭṭam thirty-five *kaḷañju* of gold given in that year and also *kaḷañju* of gold given by Maduvas for (maintaining) lamps (?)

May this charity be not interfered with.

Both the text of the inscription as also the translation as given above require revision.

The name of the division as found in the inscription is Peyiyūriḷan kōṭṭam *[பெயியூரிளங்கோட்டம்]* which of course is a mistake for Peiyyūr-iḷan-kōttam*[பெய்யூரிளங்கோட்டம்]* which name is correctly inscribed in another inscription dated in the regnal year of Kampavarman found in the same place.[7] The letter tentatively read as *ko* in line 5 appears to be *ṉu* and this fits in with the word *kaḷañjiṉuḷḷum* quite well. Otherwise the medial vowel *i* in *kaḷañji* cannot be satisfactorily explained. Similarly the letter read as *ḷu* in the word *āḷuvāḷum* in line 10 has to be read as *ṉu*, thus making the word *āḷvāṉum* (i.e.) the local ruler of the place. The letter read as *n* in the word *viṉṉappattiṉāṉ* in line 8 is clearly *r* which is the letter required there according to the rules of *sandhi* in Tamil. The reading is capable of improvement in some other places as well. But this can be attempted, as mentioned earlier, only with a fresh and good impression.

In the translation given above 35 *kaḷañju* is obviously a mistake for 55 *kaḷañju* of gold. The word *ayimpa* indicating fifty in words is clear. The mention of *puṟamāga* in line 7 clearly indicates that some land also was given. Very likely the intended word might be *avippuṟam*, (i.e.) land given for food offerings to God. The mention of the petitioner and the naming of the executor *āṇatti* are generally met with only in cases of land gifts which require fixing of the boundaries of the land and other formalities to be completed. Mere money gifts do not have such tedious procedure to be followed. The 'heads of assemblies' mentioned along with the men of the district and the villagers as having given the gold is evidently a translation of the reading *āḷvāḷum*. But

7. *S.I.I.*, XII, No. 106

the correct reading as mentioned above must be *āḻvāṉum*, meaning the local ruler.

In the present state of the available text of the inscription it is not possible to give a full translation of the record. But its purport may be given as follows: "In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of Nandippottaraśar the assembly of the division (i.e.) the *nāḍu*, the assembly of the village, i.e., the *ūr* and the local ruler (*āḻvāṉ*) made some endowment to God Subrahmaṇya consisting of fifty-five *kaḻañju* of gold and also possibly some land for the purpose of providing lamps (and for offering also) on the petition of the Āḷuva Araśar with the Cāḷukki araśar as the executor [*āṇatti*]".[8] Probably it is this defective translation that has not made scholars recognise the importance of the record.

Nandipōttaraśar in the record is to be identified with the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It is known that he came to the Pallava throne in *circa* A.D. 733. Since the present record is dated in his fifteenth regnal year, it has to be assigned to A.D. 747-8.

This record is important in many respects. This is one of the early records of the reign of Pallavamalla. This is perhaps the earliest of his lithic records so far known. Possibly this contains the earliest epigraphic reference to God Subrahmaṇya in this part of the country, Tamilnad. Even though we have reference to the God under the names of Skanda, Kumāra, Guha etc. in the early records, we do not meet with the name Subrahmaṇya. The Tiruccendūr inscription of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa registering endowments to God Subrahmaṇya Bhaṭāra at that place is later than this.

The mention of the Āḷuva Araśar the Āḷuva king as the petitioner and the Caḷukki Araśar i.e. the Cāḷukya king as the executor [*āṇatti* or *ājñāpti*] is the most important aspect of the record. From the wording of the record it may be surmised that the grant was made by the Āḷuva-Araśar on whose petition the Pallava

8. The expression *Caḷukki araśar āṇattiyāga* has been translated as 'at the order of Caḷukki-araśar' taking the word *āṇatti* as the order. This is clearly wrong. The word *āṇatti* (Sk. *ājñāpti*) means only an executor, i.e. one who carries out the order.

The translation of the record by its Editors would make the status of the Caḷukki Araśar quite the contrary one, as the paramount ruler, at whose order the endowment was made. This would make Nandivarman himself a subordinate of the Cāḷukyas. This is completely wrong.

king Nandivarman confirmed the gift naming the Caḷukki Araśar as the executor. The very fact that the Caḷukki Araśar was made the executor [*āṇatti*] of the grant would show that he was a subordinate of the Pallava king and was ruling over the region as Nandivarman's feudatory. This would appear as rather strange because the Pallavas and the Cāḷukyas were the sworn enemies of each other throughout their history.

The Narwan plates of Vikramāditya dated in Śaka 664 (expired) and his eighth regnal year state that immediately on his coronation, being resolved to uproot completely his natural enemy [*prakṛtyamitra*] (i.e. the Pallava), he reached *Tuṇḍaka viṣaya* in great haste, beat and put to flight at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandi pōtavarman, took possession of particular musical instruments ...... many elephants and a heap of rubies; he then entered the city of Kāñcī, but did not destroy it, and acquired great merit by granting heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasimheśvara and other Gods which have been caused to be built by Narasimha Potavarman".[9] This statement is found repeated in the Keṇḍūr and Vakkaḷēri grants of his son and successor Kīrttivarman II.[10] This was not a mere boast; and it finds corroboration in an obliterated Kannaḍa inscription of Vikramāditya II found on one of the pillars in the Rājasimheśvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram. It mentions that "the king having captured Kāñcī (and) having inspected the riches (belonging to the temple of) Rājasimheśvara gave (them) again to the God".[11] This necessitated the Pallava king fleeing his capital and the country. It may even be surmised that the Cāḷukya king installed on the Pallava throne a protege of his and the rival of Nandivarman and tried to protect him.[12]

With regard to the route followed by Vikramāditya in his invasion of the Pallava Kingdom and the place where the battle between him and Nandivarman II took place a recent writer says that the present inscription under study "may well be accepted as an indication of the route followed by Vikramāditya either to Kāñcī or on his way back thence". But the inscription which is

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 125 ff. Also *Quarterly of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍaḷa*, Vol. X, No. 1., p. 12.

10. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff; IX, pp. 200 ff.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

12. See "Pallava Skandaśiṣya II" by the author in the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1957-58, pp. 55-66.

dated in the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman cannot be taken to give any indication of Vikramāditya's route to the Pallava country or the place of battle. It is dated a few years after the death of Vikramāditya himself.

These details get further confirmation from the information contained in the Udayīndiram plates dated in the twenty-first regnal year of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The plates which contain a graphic account of the exploits of his general Udayacandra, the lord of Vilvalapura, say, "who [Udayacandra] while his strong arm became adorned with the copious rutting juice which oozed out at (his) collision with the pair of tusks of the elephant on which the leader of the Śabara army was mounted split (*the head of*) the opposing Śabara king called Udayana, in the terrible battle of Nelvēli, which could hardly be entered by a common man and seized (his) mirror-banner made of peacock's tail; who in the northern region also pursued the Niṣāda chief called Pṛthvīvyāgra, who desirous to become very powerful was running after the horse of the *aśvamedha*, defeated him, ordered him out of the district (*viṣaya*) of Viṣṇurāja (which) he subjected to the Pallava and seized faultless pearl necklaces of excellent lustre, an immeasurable heap of gold and elephants".[13] The translation of the latter portion of the record has been revised by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya with the help of Dr. V. Raghavan as follows: "In the north he (Udayacandra) pursued and defeated the Niṣāda chief who was running after the aśvamedha horse; made Viṣṇurāja country Pallava territory; (i.e. conquered Viṣṇurāja's territory and annexed it to the Pallava kingdom); and having brought Niravadya under his control and took (from them) beautiful necklaces and large quantities of gold and elephants".[14] The kingdom of Viṣṇurāja conquered by the Pallava general Udayacandra and annexed to the Pallava kingdom in the north is no other than the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom of Vengi as it was the only territory to the north of the Pallava kingdom and contiguous to it for being annexed. The Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom was at that time ruled by Viṣṇuvardhana III whose rule of 35 years with the titles of *Samasta bhuvanāśraya*, *Tribhuvanānkuśa* and *Viṣamasiddhi* is placed in the period A.D. 718-52. Even though we have six or seven records of his reign they do not throw any

13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 368 and p. 371-72.
14. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chaḷukyas of Vengi*, p. 74.

light on his achievements. But it is significant that no paramount titles are borne by him. We may therefore presume that Nandivarman Pallavamalla conquered the Eastern Cāḷukya ruler Viṣṇuvardhana III and annexed the Vengi country to his own. Then Viṣṇuvardhana III would have become a subordinate of the Pallava king. Venkayya thinks that the Cāḷukya araśar mentioned as the *āṇatti* in the Mallam record was "very probably the Eastern Cāḷukya Viṣṇuvardhana III".[14a]

But the Cāḷukya ruler referred to in the record could not have been the Eastern Cāḷukya king. Mallām, as we have seen above was situated in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and formed part of the traditionally Tamil area of the Pallava kingdom. The Eastern Cāḷukyas do not appear to have extended their power so far south as to include a portion of the Tamil country even though the northern portion of the Nellore District comprising Karmarāṣṭra (the modern Dusi division) appears to have been under the rule of the Vengi kingdom for some time.

In addition to the above two main branches of the Cāḷukyas, we also know of a few minor branches like the Elamañci and the Vēmulavāḍa of the Cāḷukya family who ruled over some parts of the Deccan. They were, however, holding sway over only small tracts of lands in the Telugu and Kannaḍa areas. The one branch which may be considered to have had some sort of connection with the Pallavas and the Tamil country was the one to which Rājāditya a son-in-law of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III belonged. This may be surmised from the Hirekōgilūr copper-plate grant dated in Ś 873 or A. D. 951 registering the gift of two villages to a Brahman. The grant gives the mythical genealogy of the Cāḷukyas as follows: Viṣṇu, Viriñca (Brahmā), Angīrasa, Bṛhaspati, Bharadvāja, Drōṇa and Aśvatthāman 'From the water of the Gangā purified by the *mantras* and thrown out of the hollow of his (i.e. Aśvatthāman's) hands during the performance of *sandhyā* was born Caḷiki, great among the wielders of the bow and a terrifier of the enemies. He was so named as he drove away (cālyati) his enemies. His descendants are the "Cāḷikyas."[15] This account is completely at variance with those found in the grants of the other Cāḷukya branches. The mythical genealogy found in this grant is the same as the one found in the grants of the Pallavas. Rājāditya

14a. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 352.
15. *Mys. Arch. Rep;* No. 40, pp. 117 ff.

is said to have obtained the province of Kadambaḷige one thousand for his expenses from his father-in-law and suzerain, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. We also find his wife Akkayidevi (daughter of Rāstrakūta Kṛṣṇa III) ruling over the territory round Siyamangalam in the North Arcot District.[16] Very likely the family had long settled in the Tamil country under the Pallavas; and the mention of the mythical ancestors of the Pallavas in his genealogy was probably due to the mixing up. But we do not know whether his family had at any time been ruling over the north-estern tracts of the Pallava territory so as to include Mallam in his area.

Thus it is very difficult to identify the Cāḷukya Araśar mentioned as the *āṇatti* in the record. But a clue to his identification is found in the inscription itself. It is mentioned in it that the gift was made on the petition of an Āḷuva araśar. It may be presumed that he belonged to the Aḷūpa family of rulers who were ruling over a part of the Karnāṭaka country round Udipi, Udiyavara, Bārakur etc., now included in the South Canara District, and who were subordinates of the Western Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi. In fact the Cāḷukya inscriptions claim that the Aḷūpas, or Āḷuvas, as they are also called, are said to have been the hereditary servants of the Cāḷukyas. For instance the Harihara grant of Vinayāditya dated in A.D. 694[17] states that he (Vinayāditya) reduced the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas (Kaḷacūris) Nilas, Maḷavas, Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and other peoples to a similar state of servitude with his hereditary servants the Āḷuvas (i.e. the Aḷūpas), the Gangas and others. The possibility that the Āḷuva Araśar of the Mallām record was a member of the Aḷūpa family of the west coast is corroborated by the mention of God Subrahmaṇya referred to in the record, the first reference to him by that name so far known. It may be mentioned here that there is a sacred place called Subrahmaṇya itself in the South Canara District.

The association of Āḷuva araśar with the Caḷukki Araśar in the record under discussion would suggest that the latter could only be a member of the Western Cāḷukya family. This surmise is confirmed, in a way by the mention, as first pointed out by

16. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII No. 78; also *Indian Archaeology a Review*, 1957-58, p.
17. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 300 or 303.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, of Niravadya as having been conquered by Udayacandra, as mentioned above. Niravadya is not a personal name, but only a title. The title is found both among the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vengi and the Western Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi. Jayasimha II of Vēngi whose period of rule of thirteen years is assigned to A.D. 705-717, is known to have borne the title.[18] Vijayāditya of Vātāpi (A. D. 696-733) also appears to have borne this title. According to a stone inscription of Lakṣmeśvar dated in A.D. 730 it is learnt that a person called Udayadēva Paṇḍita, also known Niravadya Paṇḍita, an *antevāsin* (house-pupil) of Pūjyapāda, preceptor of Vijayāditya's father Vinayāditya was the recipient of the gift of a village from Vijayāditya.[19] His undated Nerūr (II) grant was written by his *sandhi vigrahika* Niravadya Punyavallabha.[19a] As it is well-known that subordinates and officers of a reigning king used to bear their master's title as part of their official names, it will be seen that Vijayaditya bore this title. Thus instances can be multiplied. But the person with the name Niravadya who was conquered by Udayacandra could not have been the Western Cāḷukya ruler Vijayāditya.

It has been noticed earlier that Cāḷukya Vikramāditya II, immediately after his accession to the throne, led a successful expedition into the Pallava country, defeated its king Nandivarman, captured his capital and drove him out of the city. Nandivarman himself had ascended the Pallava throne almost at the same time as his Cāḷukya adversary. He met with much opposition even in the Pallava kingdom from the very beginning. He had to meet the opposition of his Pallava rival, who had probably been in the possession of the capital itself and fight with him for getting possession of the same. It was only with the help of his general Udayacandra that he could regain his throne after many battles. Vijayāditya is nowhere mentioned either in the Pallava or Caḷukya records to have had any part in these happenings. He was probably very old and was only the nominal ruler, his son Vikramāditya II actually running the administration. Even in the Nerūr (II) grant of Vijayāditya the name of his son Vikramaditya is associated.[21] Further the victory of Udayacandra over Nira-

18. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 70; *C.P.* 4 of 1923-4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 313 ff.
19. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.
19a. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.
21. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

vadya is mentioned as the last of his military exploits, his victory over -the Niṣāda chief and the Eastern Cāḷukya king Viṣṇu vardhana. Thus Niravadya whom Udayacandra is said to have conquered could not have been Vijayāditya. Most probably he was either Vikramāditya II or his son Kīrttivarman. The consideration of the fact that Vikramāditya was actively ruling the kingdom at the time of the grant mentioned in both the records referring to Niravadya it is possible that the name was derived from him.

Vikramāditya II was succeeded by Kīrttivarman on the Caḷukya throne. His date of accession is generally placed in A.D. 746-47 on the authority of the Vakkaḷēri grant[22] dated in Śaka 679 expired corresponding to his eleventh regnal year and equivalent to A.D. 757. But the Keṇḍūr grant[23] of his sixth regnal year is dated in Śaka 672 expired corresponding to A.D. 750. According to it his date of accession was A. D. 744-45. There is thus a discrepancy of two years with regard to the date of his accession. While editing the Keṇḍur plates in the *Epigraphia Indica* Pathak says: "These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is however important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date of this grant, which admits of verification is correct."[24] However, it must be noted that generally such discrepancies occur only where there is some difficulty with regard to accession to the throne. Of the two dates mentioned above A.D. 744-45 and 746-47 the earlier one represents his actual claim to the throne, while the latter stands for the actual date of his accession. Thus we may not be far wrong in presuming that Kirttivarman was not able to succeed his father peacefully.

At the time of the Mallam record under discussion Vikramāditya II had died and Kīrttivarman was probably the nominal ruler of the Western Cāḷukya kingdom. But his position must have been very weak. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas had come into the arena, and we have a few records of Dandidurga bearing dates even before the accession of Kīrttivarman. Thus Kīrttivarman had probably to meet the opposition of both the Pallavas and the

22. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 23; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.
23. *Ep. Ind.*, Vlo. IX, p. 200.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Very likely Nandivarman Pallavamalla also played an important part along with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the overthrow of the Western Cāḷukyas. Probably having lost his throne temporarily by the aggressive action of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kīrttivarman came to the south and sought the help of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, or having lost his kingdom he came to the south. If that be so, it may reasonably be taken that the Cāḷukya-Araśar of the Mallam record was Kīrttivarman who was probably kept in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam area along with the Aḷūpa. But this tentative suggestion has to be examined in greater detail by a careful study of the relations between the three powers, the Pallavas, the Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during this knotty period of the history of South India.

EVOLUTION OF SOME ICONOGRAPHIC CONCEPTS*

By

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It is well known that the concepts comprising the tenets of the various religions of India were derived from simple ideas but had undergone a variety of changes and modifications in the course of their development through the ages. This is especially noticeable in the case of the concepts pertaining to iconography of each of the religions of India. It has been demonstrated by scholars that in India the followers of the various religions worshipped, to begin with, only an-iconic forms and that the iconic worship came into vogue very late. When once this innovation in worship became acceptable to the people, introduction of further changes in the mode of worship was easier. This is amply borne out by the development of the forms of the deities belonging to the pantheons of the various religions. Generally the changes introduced in the concept were due to its refinement or to the importation into it subtle philosophic connotations by the learned, and the leaders of thought of the particular religion to which the concept pertains. Sometimes the changes introduced in the formal representations of the deities seem to be in the nature of commemorating certain purely secular achievements of the leaders of men also. In yet other cases the changes were due to the urge for simplifying the paraphernalia of the deities with the consequent symbolisation of the resultant form. That this is so, is well attested by the representations of the deities in sculpture, painting, etc. In this short article it is proposed to draw attention of scholars to the evolution of some of the most important and interesting iconographic concepts of Buddhism and of the two Hindu sects of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism.

Buddhist icons: It is known that of the followers of the various religions of India, it was the Buddhists who were the first to give concrete forms to the concepts of their religion. At the

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outset, they seem to have been satisfied by giving the form of a mound or *stūpa* to the idea of *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. At this period they did not seem to feel the necessity to show in visual form any other ideas of their religion; indeed they seem to have been prohibited from resorting to this method by no less a personage than the Buddha. But in the course of centuries the words of the Buddha came to be revered so much that the Buddhists began to import esoteric meanings into them. Consequently they did not think it irreligious to decorate the *stūpas* with sculptures depicting the stories narrated by the Master, while the Master himself was shown, in keeping with the spirit of his advice, in a variety of symbolic forms. Examples of such sculptural representations of the Buddhist stories are known from Bharhut (Fig. 1), Sanchi, Bhaja, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, etc., and their dates range from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. In the earlier phase of this development, generally it was the Jātaka stories that formed the subject matter of such representations and subsequently only stories from the life of the Buddha came to be depicted in *chitra.*

After about 100 A.D., the tenets of Buddhism underwent tremendous changes resulting in the coming into being of Mahāyānism. Consequently the concept of representations of the stories, too, underwent significant changes. The followers of the new Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, carried a step further, the idea of representation of the stories pertaining to their religion. They mostly related to the life of the Buddha. The Buddhists of this period, probably thought that since the visual representations of the stories were only edificatory in nature, there was no sacrilege in making use of them for spreading the religion. Accordingly both the old *stūpas* and the new ones were embellished with innumerable sculptural representations of scenes from the life of the Buddha.

Gradually the practice of representation of the Jātaka stories went into desuetude. At the early stages, say about the first half of the 2nd century A.D., when the idea of representing the scenes from the life of the Master began to be in vogue, the Buddhists did not seem to have been concerned merely with the representation of the Master alone. They wanted to show the whole scenes in a nut-shell. The numerous sculptures of the 2nd century A.D. from Amaravati, etc., demonstrate this well. Hence there are, amongst the sculptures, such panels as depicting the scene of the dream of Māyā, Māyā revealing her dream to Suddhodana, the

birth of Siddhārtha, Siddhārtha in his harem, his *abhinishkramaṇa*, his penance under the Bodhi tree, Māra's attack, *devas* worshipping him after he became the Buddha, his preaching to the *devas*, etc. Side by side with such representations, attempts were also made then to portray the Master with only a few attendant figures. This is exemplified by such instances as the Buddhas[1] from Katra, Mathurā, Shā-jī-kī-Ḍherī, Lahore Museum and Sārnāth and the Buddhas from Amaravati.[2] Most of these will be seen to be representations of the Buddha as a teacher only. So, it may be said that even when such representations of the Master were attempted, they were confined only to the most important event of his life namely the preaching of his doctrine. The standing figures from Sārnāth (Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, Fig. 83) and Lahore Museum (*ibid.*, Fig. 90) may also be said to be of this class only. So, till the end of the 2nd century A.D. the concept of iconisation of the Buddha was in its rudimentary stage.

That in the next century the concept had developed further is proved by some such important examples of Buddha as those from Amaravati.[3] (Fig. 2). The Buddha figures discovered at Nagarjunakonda[4] and dated to the time of the Ikshvāku kings (3rd-4th century A.D.) support this hypothesis. In fact some of the Nagarjunakonda Buddhas are known to have been installed in the *Buddha-chaityas* of the place, corresponding to the *stūpas* of the *stūpa-chaityas* of the same place. It was also during this period that the Bodhisattva cult of Mahāyāna Buddhism was developed, and this was at the bottom of the sculptures representing stories from the lives of the Bodhisattvas also. Besides, images representing the Bodhisattvas alone, were also made during this period. But representations of the Buddha were more or less of the same type as existed during the previous period, and only at a still later period that the concept of representing each of the other most important events in the life of the Buddha in a symbolic or iconic manner came into being. Among such events mention

1. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *H.I.I.A.*, Figs. 84, 85, 89, 90, 83 respectively.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum*, Pl. XX I, Pl. XXII (1).
3. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 138. They are attributed to the late 2nd century A.D. by Dr. Coomaraswamy, but on grounds of style they might be said to belong to the 3rd century A.D.
4. A. H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Pl. XI(b); T. N. Ramachandran, *Nagarjunakonda* (1938), M.A.S.I. No. 71, Pl. X(A).

may be made of Siddhārtha citing the Earth goddess as witness, the Buddha setting the Wheel of Law in motion in the Deer-Park of Sārnāth, the Buddha in *dhyāna* and the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. It is interesting to note that while in North India and the Deccan almost all these concepts were represented in sculpture, among the sculptures from such places as Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda, only a few of the concepts such as the Buddha in *dhyāna* and the Buddha as Teacher are found represented. Even here, besides the chief figure of the Buddha shown as occupying the major portion of the sculptured surface, there are a number of other figures of worshippers and *devas* shown around the Buddha.

Only from a still later period, the practice of showing the Buddha, almost severely alone, seems to have come into vogue as for instance the Nagarjunakonda Buddha illustrated on Pl.X (A) in Mr. T. N. Ramachandran's *Nagarjunakonda* (1938). Its head is stated to be missing (*ibid.*, p. 13) but its feet are preserved, of which an illustration is found on Pl. XIV (A) of the same work. Interestingly a *padmāsana* is found to support the feet, which is an innovation not met with in images of the Buddha of the earlier periods, but a feature which came to be introduced not only in the images of the Buddha but also in the images of other Buddhist deities and of Jain and Hindu deities. A Buddha image with this detail clearly marked on it is known from Gummuḍidurru[5] and from its inscription its date is stated to be 5th century A.D.[6] It may be said here that from this period onwards, only such strictly iconographical images of the Buddha as this came to be made avoiding all other appendages such as the worshippers, angels, etc. Nevertheless these images were made to suggest the important events in the life of Buddha such as the *Dharmachakrapravarttana.* A magnificent example of this icon is the one from Sārnāth[7] dated to the 5th century A.D. The standing figures of the Buddha were however shown either in the *abhaya* pose (*e.g.* Sultanganj bronze Buddha,[8] dated to the 5th century A.D.) or in *varada* pose (*e.g.* Amaravati bronze[9] Buddha dated to the 5th-6th century A.D.). (Fig. 3).

5. T. N. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV (2).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
7. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, Fig. 161.
8. *Ibid.*, Fig. 160.
9. T. N. Ramachandran, *Nāgapaṭṭiṇam and other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, Pl. XXII 4.

The concepts relating to the Buddha-*pratimā* underwent, after the 6th century A.D., only very slight changes. Among them the most significant has been the introduction of the flame of fire on the head in place of the *ushnīsha*. This change was effected when Buddhism began to be extremely ritualistic. This may have happened about the 8th-9th century A.D. The production of icons possessing this detail may also be attributed to that age. A number of images of the Buddha of this type were discovered at Kurkihar. In South India the earliest Buddha to show this detail is the standing Buddha from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, datable to the 10th century, illustrated as Fig. 1 on Pl. V of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran's book mentioned above. (Fig. 4). That this detail is in the initial stage of its development here, is apparent. In the subsequent periods the concept of the Buddha icon changed very little. This is proved by the Buddha figures of the subsequent periods showing only the same details as seen in the figure of earlier periods (Mr. T. N. Ramachandran *op. cit.* Figs. 2, 3, 4 of Pl. V.). In South India almost all the Buddha images belonging to periods after about 1000 A.D. are in the *dhyāna* pose only.[10] This demonstrates the fact that this concept alone, of all those relating to the iconic representation of the Buddha, was considered by the Buddhists of these later periods as the most significant and important, and hence they standardised it as the one to be universally adopted thereafter. It is thus clear that in the concept of the Buddha icon, a gradual evolution of details is seen upto a particular period after which it has remained practically unmodified. That this process was noticeable in the case of the evolution of iconographic concepts of Hinduism also, can be seen by the examination of examples of representations of a few of the icons, belonging to various periods such as Naṭarājā, Rāma and Kṛishṇa.

Hindu icons: As in the case of Buddhism, in the case of Hinduism also, during the period of its re-emergence, its followers were chiefly concerned with the popularisation of the religion by various means of which pictorial and sculptural representations of stories from the epic and the Puraṇas pertaining to the sports of the various deities was an important one. Their symbolic and iconographic representation came into being only gradually, after the stage was set for the reception by the people at large, of

10. For illustrations of such images of the Buddha see *Story of Buddhism with special reference to South India* by Dr. A. Aiyappan and P. R. Srinivasan.

evolved ideas and concepts in this field. The sculptures in the monuments belonging to the period ranging from about the 4th century A.D. to about the 7th century A.D. are found to illustrate this aspect of the evolution of religious ideas. It has to be mentioned here the fact that in the race between the Buddhists and the Hindus of popularizing their respective religions, as has been said above, the Buddhists were the first to adopt the means of visual representation of the Buddhist stories. The Hindus only followed suit. Hence Hindu monuments of periods earlier than the 4th century A.D. are few. Even so, only in the North and the Deccan monuments belonging to this period are found, Hindu monuments of this category of the South being the products of the periods after about 600 A.D.

Narrative reliefs: The Varāha-avatāra relief dated to the early 5th century A.D. occurring in the Gupta cave temple at Udayagiri in the former Bhopāl State[11] is a significant example to show that though the god Vishṇu has been shown prominently in the relief, the practice of representing fully the other details of the story has been strictly adhered to here. The three beautiful panels occurring one on each side wall of the pretty little Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh[12] are also of this class. The panel, identified by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao as Dakshiṇāmūrti,[13] has now been accepted as the representation of the penance scene at Badarikāśrama of Nara and Nārāyaṇa and the creation of the nymph Ūrvaśī by Nārāyaṇa from his thigh (ūru) (Fig. 5). Similarly the other reliefs namely the Gajendra-moksha[14] and Seshaśāyin[15] are also representations each of the relevant story found in the epics and the *Purāṇas.* It must also be said here the fact that the plinth of the same temple was originally decorated with beautiful panels of sculptures representing scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa[16] and the

11. It is one of the famous early sculptures of India, and therefore oft-illustrated in books on Indian Art. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, Fig. 174; Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculptures*, Pl. XXI, Fig. 63, etc.

12. See the M.A.S.I. No. 70, *Deogarh Temple* for details of architecture, etc.

13. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, Pl. LXXI.

14. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII.

15. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Pl. 77 (A).

16. An oft-illustrated panel from this group represents the scene of the redemption of Ahalyā from the curse of her husband; see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, Fig. 167.

Bhāgavata. This piece of evidence coupled with the fact that the former large panels being more or less decorative in character, our hypothesis that they are merely edificatory in nature and not icons intended for worship gets support. They may in this respect be compared to the sculptured medallions and friezes that went into the embellishments of a Buddhist *stūpa* of earlier periods.

When we examine the Hindu monuments in the Deccan and South India belonging to a slightly later period than the above, we find the continuance of the same practice of story-telling through the medium of plastic art. Thus the sculptures in the Rāmēśvara and other Hindu caves of Ellora may be said to belong to this category. The panel that serves as a most significant illustration of this theory is that which represents the *Pārvatī-pariṇaya* (the marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva) occurring in the Rāmēśvara cave of Ellora.[17] In fact the panels of sculptures in almost all the Hindu cave temples of Ellora may be said to be illustrations of stories from the *Śiva-Purāṇa* only. The sculptures occurring in the Dumār-lena cave of Ellora may be said to be especially of this type. Intererestingly the sculptured panels of this cave seem to admit of a sequential order too (Fig. 6). When this is so, the sculptures of Elephanta also may be said to fall in line, as the whole conception and execution of this cave temple seem to have been based on those of the Dumār-lena of Ellora. The sculptures[18] of Elephanta (Fig. 7) are, however, of a class by themselves, and in them one may meet with the Hindu genius in all its splendour and glory. Being almost a reproduction of the Dumār-lena, here as in the Dumār-lena, most of the panels pertain to the *Pārvatī-pariṇaya.* That these sculptures are only narrative and edificatory can be seen not only from the fact that they are carved on the walls, each with all its details complete, but also from the fact that they only subserve the main idol in the sanctum-sanctorum situated in the centre of the excavations. It is therefore clear that one need not consider them as anything more than illustrative sculptures. The same is the case with the bas-reliefs of Badami. The rock-cut sculptures representing the Kirātārjunīya,[19] the Govardhana-dhāri

17. T. A. G. Rao, *op.cit.,* Pl. CV.

18. Mārg, Vol. XIII, No. I, entitled *Elephanta,* for full particulars about the temple.

19. For a complete study of this, see T. N. Ramachandran's book on *Kirātārjunīya in Indian Art* published by the *Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Calcutta.

scene and the reliefs occurring in the various *maṇḍapas* and *rathas* at Mahābalipuram also belong to the same category. Of these the most beautiful are the Śeshaśāyin and the Mahishāsura-mardinī[20] of the cave named after the latter deity. (Fig. 8).

In the 8th century also the concepts of Hindu iconography continued to be almost the same as in the preceding period. This is exemplified by the magnificent panels, carved almost in the round, occurring in the renowned rock-cut Kailāsa temple at Ellora. Among numerous narrative sculptures of this temple, two are rightly considered to be the most interesting, namely, Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāsa[21] (Fig. 9) and Śiva fighting with the Tripura demons.[22] The sculptures seen on the walls of the temples at Paṭṭadakkal (mid-8th century) may also be said to belong to this group, because they have not as yet been housed, in separate niches for offering special *pūjas* to them, as it happened in the next century. The reliefs occurring on the walls of the Kailāsanātha temple and the Vaikuṇṭhapperumāḷ temple of Kāñchī both belonging to the early 8th century A.D. are also narrative in character. So far, the concepts of iconography do not seem to have changed much.

Beginnings of definite icons: From the 9th century A.D. the position in regard to this aspect of Hindu religion began to show perceptible trends towards modifications. This is at any rate markedly noticed in the South. One of the earliest examples of temples where the decoration of walls by bas-reliefs has been dispensed with but subsidiary shrines containing each an image of a Hindu deity like Jyeshṭhā are put up separately around the main shrine, is the Vijayālaya-cholīśvara (*circa* 850 A.D.) on the Melamalai in Narttāmalai in the former Pudukkottai State. In the following centuries this scheme gradually got established. However, that the traditions relating to narrative sculptures die hard is proved by the subtle way in which they find expression in later periods. For instance, though the icons in the niches on the walls of the sanctums of such temples as the Big Temples at Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-chōḷapuram (both of the 11th century A.D.) are for all purposes individual representations, yet the sculptors of these idols had introduced the story element also by carving, in miniature size, some significant scenes from the story

20. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *op.cit.*, *Figs.* 208, 209.
21. *Ibid.*, Fig. 193.
22. Stella Kramrisch, *op.cit.*, Pl. XXX, Fig. 77.

on either side of the niches. The Kāmāntaka[23] and the Chaṇḍeśānugrahamūrti from Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram may be said to be two best examples of this kind. (Fig. 10).

That even from about the end of the 8th century A.D. or the beginning of the 9th century A.D. there came into being the practice of representing the chief deity alone prominently, with or without the representation of subsidiary figures suggesting the story aspect of the sculpture, is known from the figures in the iconographic gallery behind the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. This practice was continued with redoubled vigour in the subsequent periods when beautifully worked individual icons were produced both in stone and in metal. In the following paragraphs we shall examine, as has been said above, the development of the iconographic concepts in respect of the icons of Naṭarāja, Rāma and Krishṇa.

Naṭarāja concept: It is interesting to study in detail how the grand concept of Śiva as the Cosmic Dancer was perceived by the great saints and sages of ancient India, especially of the South, and how the concept was given a tangible form which could be seen and enjoyed by the people at large.[24] Somehow this theme has been found to be a favourite of the people of the South where innumerable sculptural and pictorial representations of this aspect of Śiva have been made during the centuries. The traditions pertaining to Śiva's choice of Chidambaram, in South India, there too, in Tamilnāḍ, as the most suitable place for repeating his dance, which he originally performed at the *Dārukāvana,* for the benefit of his devotees, Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda and for that matter, for the benefit of the entire universe, is significant in that it goes to confirm the theory that the concept has been specially dear to the people of the South.

Regarding its representations, we have sculptural and pictorial examples of Śiva as Naṭarāja, from the 6th century A.D. onwards.[25] One of the earliest of sculptural representations[26] is

23. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas (revised edn. 1955)*, Fig. 58 and the note on them on p. 760.

24. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Śiva,* for the philosophy underlying this theme.

25. We have dealt with this subject more elaborately in three consecutive issues of the *Roopa-lakha* in Vol. XXVI and XXVII.

26. R. D. Banerji, *Bas-reliefs of Bādāmi,* M.A.S.I., No. 25, Pl. II (a).

found in cave No. I at Badami dated to the 6th century A.D. To the subsequent periods belong the Naṭarājas from Aihoḷe, in the Rāmeśvara, Dumār-lena and other caves of Ellora, in the cave at Elephanta and so on. In all these examples, one can see at once the presence of multiple hands and the pose other than the famed *bhujaṅgatrāsita* mode of dance, also called the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* by the people of Tamilnāḍ. Nor is there found amidst these Deccanese examples a sculpture depicting the *lalāṭa-tilaka-karaṇa* or the *ūrddhvatāṇḍava,* as it is called by the Tamilians, mode of dance. Coming to Tamilnāḍ, a number of dancing Śiva figures (Fig. 11). are found in the Kailāsanātha temple (early 8th century A.D.). Amidst them there is also an *ūrddhva-tāṇḍava* sculpture[27] which is peculiar to South India. Its popularity can be judged from the existence of a painting[28] representing this theme in the Tālagirīśvara temple at Panamalai also built by Pallava Rājasiṁha in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Apart from this speciality, the Naṭarājas of this part of the country also are characterised generally by the presence in them of more than four hands and by representing modes of dance other than the mode called popularly as the *ānanda-tāṇḍava.* The concept of Śiva as a dancer was continued to be represented only in these forms for a few centuries more, till about the first half of the 10th century A.D. when, according to us, the sculptors of the Tamil country conceived the un-Āgamic and non-Bharata form of *ānanda-tāṇḍava* Naṭarāja with four arms only and dancing on the Apasmāra-Pursha.[29] The grandeur of this conception and the beauty of its depiction were of such an enchanting nature and of extraordinary philosophical significance to the Tamils that it became since then the Naṭarāja form *par excellence,* and the one that is traditionally associated with Śiva's dance at Chidambaram, hence called the Chidambaram form of Naṭarāja. Elsewhere we have discussed in

27. T. A. G. Rao, *op.cit.,* Vol. II, Pt. I., Pl. LXIV, Fig. 2.

28. A sketch of this painting, of which only a fragment is all that is now preserved, is illustrated in my article mentioned above.

29. A remarkable bas-relief, representing almost the same mode of dance as this, has been recently discovered on a pillar in the cave temple at Sīyamaṅgalam belonging to the time of Pallava Mahendravarman I (*circa* 600-630 A.D.), by Shri K. R. Srinivasan, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Government of India, (*vide,* Fig of Dancing Śiva on Pl. VIII of his lectures on *Some aspects of religion as revealed by early monuments and literature of the South* in "Journal of Madras University" Vol. XXXII, No. 1). As it is not fully in accordance with the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* type, it is not taken as the earliest example of this mode.

great detail the subject namely the emergence of this form of Dance of Śiva in the history of the theme to which we request the readers to make a reference for more particulars.

Gaṅgaipūṇḍa-Naṭarāja: But in that discussion an important detail bearing on the development of the concept does not find a place. That its significance is as great as that of the conception of the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* form of the icon is known from the fact that no Naṭarāja image made subsequent to its inception was without this detail. It pertains to the depiction of a mermaid-like figure representing Gaṅgā on the right side of Śiva's head. Just as the *ānanda-tāṇḍava* form was purely an innovation of the sculptors of the periods of Parāntaka I (*circa* 907-955 A.D.), the Naṭarājas that were made upto the end of or attributed to the reign of Rājarāja I (*circa* 985-1014 A.D.), according to us, do not seem to have been endowed with this detail. This is attested by the absence of the figure of mermaid from the *jaṭās* of the Naṭarāja from Velāṅkaṇṇi.[30] (Fig. 12) and of the Naṭarāja[31] under worship in the Big Temple at Tanjore. The latter has been ascribed to the time of Rājarāja I himself, while the former, on stylistic grounds, may be slightly earlier than this. But in the Naṭarājas ascribed to periods after 1100 A.D., this detail is invariably met with. (Fig. 13). So it is certain that the concept of this icon had undergone a change between about 1020 A.D. and 1100 A.D. When this element was introduced, which became, since then, a *sine qua non* of the Naṭarāja figures, is now to be solved. The reason for the introduction of this detail into the concept of the icon does not seem to have been dictated by the Āgamas; neither was it due to traditions. According to us, this was a deliberate innovation to mark a distinct, nay a unique, event in the history of the period.

It is well known that during the first half of the 11th century A.D. the whole of South India was under the rule of the famous Choḷa Rājendra I (*circa* 1012 to 1044 A.D.) and that he not only conquered a number of countries beyond the seas but also subjugated many a king in India. These victories are recorded

30. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Museum*, Pl. XVII (1). See also Benjamin Rowland, *op.cit.*, Pl. 128 (A), and O. C. Gangoly, *South Indian Bronzes*, Pl. IV.

31. K. A. Nilakana Sastri, *op.cit.*, Fig. 63. There are two other representations of Naṭarāja in the temple, one in stone and the other in painting, both of the period of Rājarāja I, although the painting may be slightly later. In neither of them do I remember to have seen a representation of this detail.

with gusto in his charters. In respect of the subdued kings of North India, it is said, that they were made to carry, each on his head, a pitcher-ful of water from the Ganges, which was brought to Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-choḷapuram and was emptied in the tank caused to be dug up by the king at the place. The king, by naming the town after his title Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ marking this achievement, had no doubt tried to commemorate the event for ever. But being a lover of the learned (*paṇḍitavatsalah*), hence a lover of learning, he seems apparently to have desired to commemorate this achievement in the manner of the learned, which would at once be the most commendable and ever-lasting. He could achieve this only when the results of his work are dedicated at the feet of his family deity namely Śiva as Naṭarāja. And this, we presume, he did probably by ordering the sculptors of his realm to mark the Naṭarāja images produced then, and to be produced thereafter, by depicting on their *jaṭās* a mermaid representing Gaṅgā. By this arrangement, the great king who was invested with the title of *Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṉ,* seems apparently to have fulfilled his pious desire to make his family deity, the *Āḍavallāṉ* to be distinguished thence-forward, by the name of *Gaṅgaipūṇḍāṉ* (i.e., one who is adorned with the Ganges). That this was what happened can be seen from the presence of this detail in almost all the Naṭarājas[32] produced after the time of Rājendra I.

Now the question arises as to where and in which image this detail was introduced. Unfortunately this question will remain unsolved for ever, as there is little or no chance of coming across an indisputable evidence proving this. If, however, a circumstantial evidence will be permitted to be adduced to show that a particular image might have been the first to be created with this detail in it according to the royal order mentioned above, we may say that it is the magnificant Madras Museum Naṭarāja image from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu,[33] (Fig. 14) datable to the middle 11th century A.D., which has been acclaimed as one of the best of its kind by such eminent connoisseurs of art as A. Rodin and Dr. Ananda Coomara-

32. O. C. Gangoly, *op.cit.*, Pl. VI, VII, IX, X (figure on the right); F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, Pl. XVI, XVII (2); and other images like the one in the Birmingham Museum and that in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

33. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, Pl. XVIII (2); O. C. Gangoly, *op.cit.*, Pl.C, etc. It has since been reproduced countless times.

34. See *Ars Asiatica*, III (1921).

swamy.[34] Unfortunately its *jaṭās* are broken and missing, although there cannot be any doubt about the fact of their being present, on the back of the head, originally. So, in its present state, it cannot be said for certain whether the image possessed the detail of mermaid on its *jaṭās* or not. We are aware of the fact that the absence of the *jaṭas* makes our proposition utterly untenable. Yet the fact that it is adjudged to be a great masterpiece of a bronze coupled with the fact that it belonged to the famous Śiva temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu from where was obtained the renowned copper-plate charter of Rājendra I recording his grant of lands etc., to the temple, goes to show that the image was in all probability, made under the orders of the king and donated by him to the temple. If this is conceded, then the reason for doing so is not far to seek because it was in this temple that the great Śaiva woman-saint of Tamilnād, Kāraikkāl-ammaiyār, is said to have done penance to have the *darśan* of Śiva's dance and which she achieved by the grace of the god. When an event of such great religious moment was commemorated by the king by making and dedicating this remarkable work of art to the service in the temple, we would like the scholars to consider, probable or not, that the king ordered the introduction of the *motif* of mermaid, for the first time, on the *jaṭās* of this Naṭarāja, so that it served also the purpose of immortalising the unique secular achievement of his reign namely the bringing of the Ganges water on the heads of the rulers of the North, he subdued. Whether this is accepted or not, the point which is stressed here is that only those Naṭarājas, produced after the time of this king, possess this *motif* and that this additional element, introduced into the concept of iconography of this image, has been viewed as of such great importance that ever since then it became an invariable feature of the Naṭarāja icons.

Rāma group of icons: As in the case of the concept of Naṭarāja, in the development of the concept of Rāma also perceptible differences are noticed between the images of one period and those of another. Unlike the images of Naṭarājas which are available from the 6th century A.D., the images of Rāma group are available only from about the first half of the 10th century A.D. One of the earliest sets of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa is that from Vaḍakkuppanaiyūr.[35] (Fig. 15). This may be dated to the

35. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, Pl. VII.

Fig. 1. Māyā's dream
Bharhut.

Fig. 2. Buddhas,
Amaravati.

A

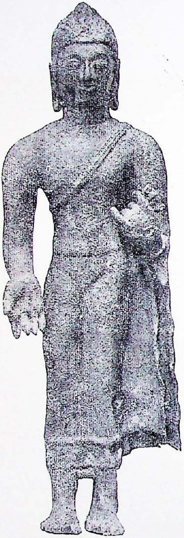

Fig. 3. Buddha, Amaravati.

Fig. 4. Buddha, Nagapattinam.

Fig. 5. Naranārāyaṇa, Deogarh temple.

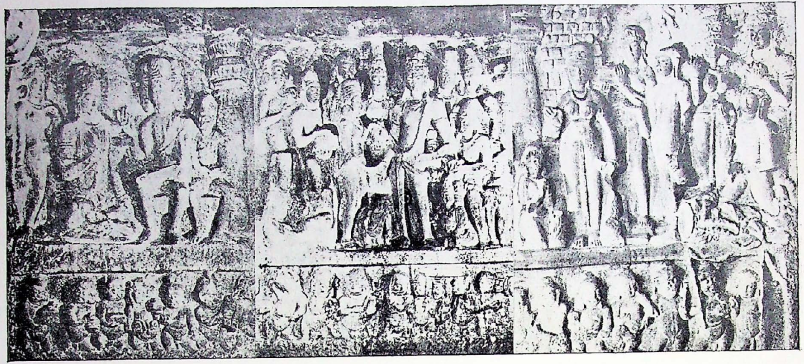

Fig. 6. Pārvatī Pariṇaya, Ellora.

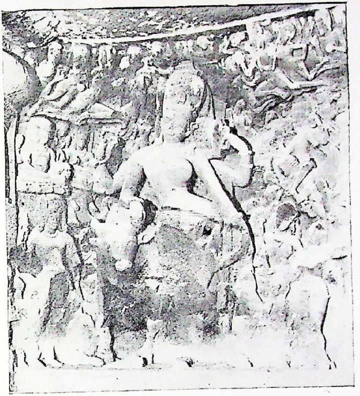

FIG. 7. Ardhanārīśvara, Elephanta.

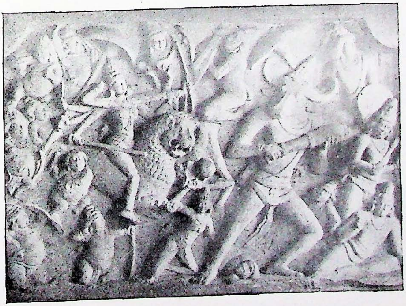

FIG. 8. Mahishāsura-mardinī, Mahābalipuram.

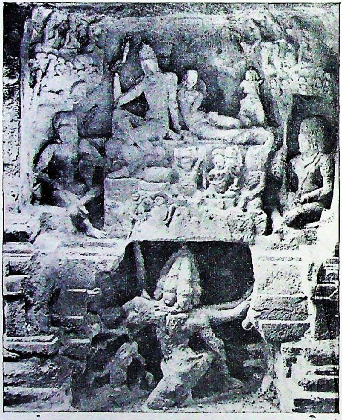

Fig. 9. Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa, Ellora.

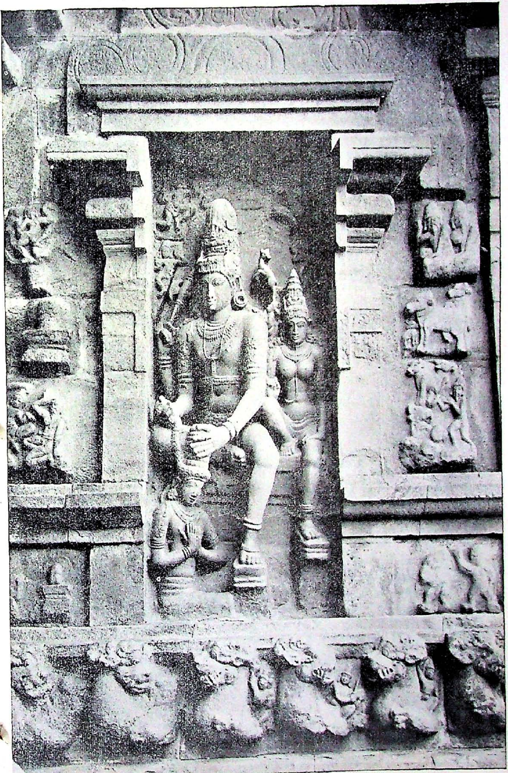

FIG. 10. Caṇḍēśānugrahamūrti, Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram.

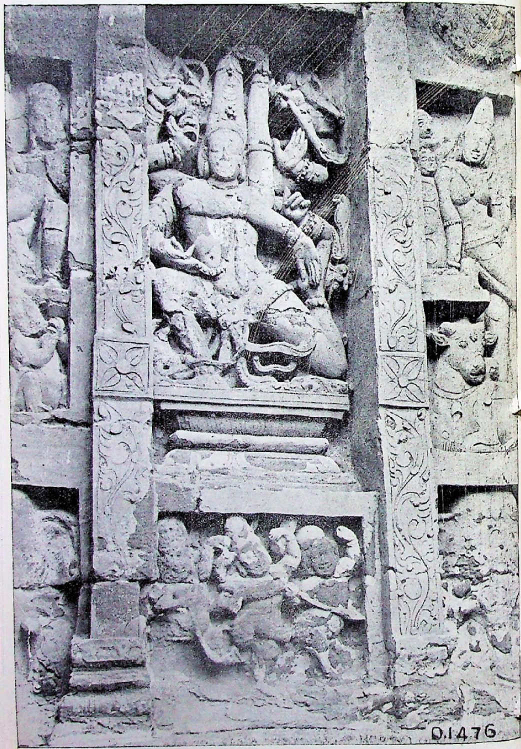

FIG. 11. Naṭêśa, Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñcīpuram.

c

Fig. 12. Naṭarāja, Velāṅkaṇṇi.

Fig. 13. Naṭarāja, Punganur.

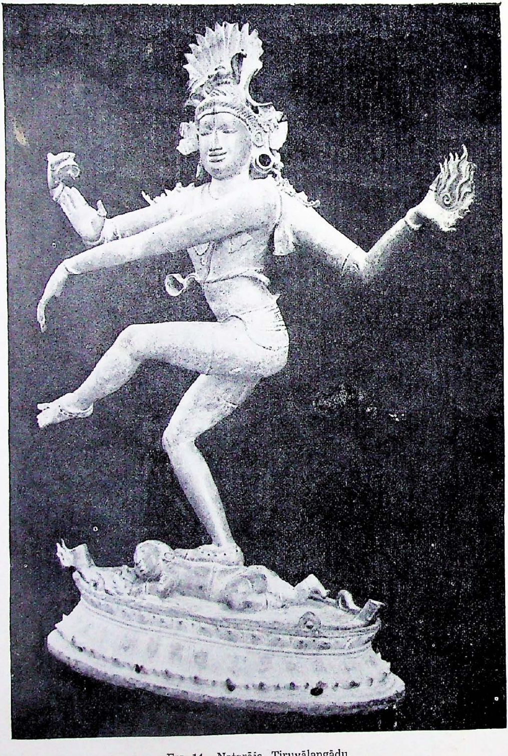

Fig. 14. Naṭarāja, Tiruvālangāḍu.

FIG. 15. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sīta and Hanuman, Vadakkupanaiyur.

FIG. 16. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sīta and Hanuman, Tiruvālangāḍu

FIG. 17. Vēṇugōpāla with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāma.

middle of the 10th century. The most important details which undergo significant changes during the subsequent ages, of each of the images are the following:

Rāma has only a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and has no mark on the right chest. It is clear therefore that the image represents him only as a prince *i.e.*, as the son of Chakravarti Daśaratha.

Lakshmaṇa, is also represented as a prince but his headdress in one of *keśamakuṭa.*

Sītā is represented again only as a princess with *kuṭila-kuntaḷas, dhammilla* headdress and *kaṅkaṇas* and *vaḷayas* on the wrists.

When we examine the Rāma set from Maṇakkāl in the Nannilam Taluq of the Tanjore District, now in the Madras Museum, from which however the Lakshmaṇa is missing, we find already signs of Rāma being considered more as a divine being than a man, which is attested by the *kirīṭamakuṭa* on the head. This set may be assigned to about the 12th century A.D. That he has not yet been thought of as completely divine in character is indicated also by the absence of any mark on the right chest as well as by the presence of the *dhammilla* headdress in the Sītā. To a slightly later period belongs the Rāma set from Tirukkaḍaiyūr[36] dated to the end of the 12th century A.D., which may be said to be one of the earliest to represent the figures almost as deities. The Rāma of this set has a beautiful *kirīṭamakuṭa* and besides, a mark on the right chest which obviously stands for the *śrīvatsa.* This clearly shows that at the time to which it belongs, Rāma had already become identified with Vishṇu. The *kirīṭamakuṭa*-like crowns of Sītā and Lakshmaṇa also go to support this hypothesis. This change in the concept of Rāma has probably been brought about not only by the stress laid on the Vishṇu aspect of it by the great Viśishṭādvaita philosopher, Rāmānuja, but also by the immortal Tamil *kāvya,* the Rāmāyaṇa of Kamban. The Rāma set from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the Tanjore District, now in the Madras Museum (Fig. 16), assignable to the 13th century A.D. may be seen to be completely based on this developed concept. In the Rāma of this set both the *kirīṭa* and the *śrīvatsa* are prominent. Moreover, here the Lakshmaṇa figure also has a *kirīṭa.* The Rāma group[37] from Shermādevī in the Tirunelveli District may be seen

36. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.,* Fig. 81.
37. T. A. G. Rao, *op.cit.,* Pl. LIV.

to show mixed signs, although it should be attributed to a date later than that to which the previous set is attributed. Whether the Rāma has the *śrīvatsa* mark or not is not clear although it must be present in it. But the headdress of Lakshmaṇa is of the *keśamakuṭa* type. Interestingly the Sītā, like the images of such goddesses as Pārvatī or Śrīdevī, has a *karaṇḍamakuṭa* which is undoubtedly due to her being considered as the incarnation of Śrī. The headdress of Lakshmaṇa may have to be attributed to the persistence of earlier traditions in a place which is far removed from the centre of great religious and philosophical activities. In the Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa from Rāmeśvaram,[38] which are of the modern period, all the details pertaining to regular deities are completely depicted.

Kṛishṇa icon: That the iconographic concept of Kṛishṇa too has changing from century to century is illustrated by the images representing Kṛishṇa. This is especially true of images of Kṛishṇa as Veṇugopāla rather than others. The stone image of Veṇugopāla from Haḷebīḍu[39] belonging to the 12th century A.D. shows only two hands and *karaṇḍamakuṭa*. The images of Kṛishṇa, Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā from Chimakūrti[40] (Fig. 17) in the Guntur District belonging to about the 16th century A.D. are also made according to early traditions, with human appendages such as two hands for Kṛishṇa and ordinary headdresses for all and the figure of Rukmiṇī not possessing the *kuca-bandha*. But in the set illustrated as Fig. 2 of Pl. LXII of T.A.G. Rao's book, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, the divine character of Kṛishṇa and of his consorts is fully represented by showing Kṛishṇa not only with *kirīṭamakuṭa* but also with four hands of which the upper ones hold the Vishṇu's two distinctive emblems namely conch and discus and by showing Rukmiṇī with a *kuca-bandha* too. Both the female figures are also shown to wear *karaṇḍamakuṭa*. A further elaboration of this concept is illustrated by the 17th century stone image of Kṛishṇa in the temple at Tenkāśi reproduced on Pl. LXIII in T.A.G. Rao's book.

As in the case of the above mentioned concepts of icons, changes are noticeable in the concepts of other icons also, a thorough study of which will be not only interesting but also rewarding.

38. *Ibid.*, Pl. LV.
39. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI.
40. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, Pl. V.

LITERARY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC REFERENCES TO THE TALI AND THE TALI RITE

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I. REFERENCE TO THE TALI IN LITERATURE

In the literature of the Sangam Age (300 B.C. — 300 A.D.) there are numerous references to the use of the *tali* as an ornament. The tali was then an ornament worn by women and children. Children of both sexes were founded to wear the tali of which several types are mentioned.

Pulippal Tali: One of them is the Pulippal-tali (Tiger's teeth tali). The present day Tamil type of tali is said to be derived from this type. This type of tali is a trophy of the chase. The origin of this type of ornament was explained as a demonstration of the prowess of the ancient Tamil warriors and hunters. Men who had killed tigers and other wild animals, collected their teeth and claws as trophies, made perforations therein, strung them together and put the strings around the necks of their women and children as ornamental trophies. Gradually others made similar ornaments of gold. There are several references to this type of tali in Sangam literature.[1, 2] In the first reference cited a woman laments the separation of her daughter who had eloped with her lover saying that the daughter was wearing a tali strung of tiger's

1. புலிப்பல் கோத்த புலம்பு மணித்தாலி. (அகம் 7)
2. புலிப்பல் தாலிப் புன்தலைச்சிறார். (புறம் 374)
3. அரும்பெறல் மறவர் தாயத் தான்றதொல் குடியில் வந்தாள்
   இரும்புலி எயிற்றுத் தாலி குடையிடை மனவு கோத்துப்
   பெரும்புறம் அலையப் பூண்டாள் பீலியும் குழையும் தட்டச்
   சுரும்புறு படலை முச்சிசூர் அரிப் பிணவு போல்வாள்.
   (திரு. தொ. புரா. 10-9)
4. அழிதன் குறுகு வான்முன்னங்கயற் கண்ணி தந்தக்
   குழையிரு காதுங் கோத்துக் கொலைகெழு புலிப்பற் றாலி
   நுழைமயிர் நெடுநாண் பின்ன ரேபிட ரலைப்பப் பூண்டோர்
   பழிதகை யாத வேடப் பாவையாய்ப் படிவங் கொள்ள.
   (திருவிளை. புரா. 26-21)

*A paper read before the Archaeological Society of South India on 8-9-1958.

teeth. This traditional pattern of wearing tiger's teeth as ornamental talis continues to appear through out Tamil literature as is seen in Sekkilar[3] and Paramjoti[4] The former in the Tiruttondar-puranam describes Kannappa Nayanar's mother as wearing tiger's teeth-tali along with chank shell beads. The latter in his Tiruvilaiyadal-puranam, describes the goddess Angalarkanni of Madurai appearing as a huntress decked with ivory ear ornaments and tiger's-teeth-tali around her neck.

Aimpadai-tali:—While the Pulippal-tali is considered to be a trophy of the hunt or its derivative, the Aimpadai-tali is said to be an amulet or talisman. It is said to preserve the wearer and protect him from evil in general and the evil eye in particular. The tali is represented by the five emblems of Vishnu; the conch, the discus, the mace, the bow and the sword. Vishnu is the God of preservation among the Hindu Trinity and wearing his emblems protects and preserves those who wear them as ornaments. It is generally found worn by young children and in all the following instances cited, by male children.

The Pandiyan King Nedum Chelyan defeated the Chera and Chola kings together with their allies, even before he had removed his tali.[5] He was still a boy wearing the Aimpadai-tali for protection against the evil eye, when he defeated his enemies.

There is again a reference to the Aimpadai-tali in the Manimekalai, one of the five great classics of Tamil literature, in which it is said to be worn by young children who lisp and toddle.[6]

Sekkilar in his Tiruttondar-puranam describes Sundara-murti Nayanar as a child wearing an Aimpadai-tali and playing in the street with a toy car, when King Narasinga-munayar decides to adopt him.[7]

5. தாலிகளைந்தன்றும் இலனே.

(புறம் 77)

6. மணிமேகலை.
7. தம்பிரா னருளி னாலே தவத்தினான் மிக்கார் போற்று
நம்பியா ரூர ரென்றே நாமமுந் சாத்தி மிக்க
வைம்படை சதங்கை சாத்தி யணிமணிச் சுட்டி சாத்திச்
,செம்பொனா ணரையின் மின்னத் தெருவிற்றே ருருட்டு நாளில்
நரசிங்க முனைய ரென்று நாவொ ழரசர் கண்டு
பரவருங் காதல் கூரப் பயந்தவர் தம்பாற் சென்று
விரவிய நண்பி னாலே வேண்டினர் பெற்றுத் தங்க
ளரசிளங் குமரற் கேற்ப வன்பினான் மகன்மைக் கொண்டார்.

(திரு. தொ. புரா. 1-4-5)

Paramjoti Munivar, in his Tiruvilaiyadal-puranam, in one of the sixty-four sports of Siva at Madurai, narrates the story of a small boy, whose *dayadis* have robbed him of all his belongings. Siva appears as the maternal uncle of the boy and pleads his cause before a court of law and gets his property restored to him. When Siva meets the boy he laments that he could not see the Aimpadai-tali which the boy was wearing as his relations have robbed him of all his ornaments.[8]

Amai-tali and tali-kolundu are ornaments worn by small boys for protection in the same manner as Aimpadai-tali. Thus Periawar (8th century), one of the twelve Vaishnava saints, called Alwars, describes the boy Krishna as wearing an amai-tali[9] (tor toise-shaped tali) and a tali-kolundu[10] (a tali in the form of bunch of flower buds).

Variven-tali[11] is a string of white ribbed cowry shells worn as an ornament. It is referred to in one of the Sangam Age anthologies called Aingurunuru.

In all instances cited above the tali is referred to as an ornament worn by women and children. Among children there are numerous instances in which the ornaments are worn by boys. A number of other types of tali are described in early Tamil literature. Among these are 1. the *pin-tali* (back tali) of Madhavi in commentaries of the Silappadikaram (8th century) and 2. the *Sin-mani-tali* (of small beads) of Vasavadatta in Perunkatai (8th

8. ஐம்படை மார்பிற் காணேன் சிறுசிலம்படியிற் காணேன்
மொய்ம்பிடை காணேன் முகத்தசை சுட்டிகாணேன்
மின்படுகுழைகள் காணேன் வெற்றுடல் கண்டேனப்பா
வென்பெறுமென்று பிள்ளைப் பணிகளுங் கவர்ந்தாரென்று.
(திரு. விளை. புரா. 31-25)

9. செக்க ரிடை நுனிக்கொம்பில்தோன்றும் சிறுபிறை முளைப்போல்
நக்க செந்துவர்வாய்த்திண்ணைமீதே நளிர்வெண்பல் முளையிலக
அக்குவடமுடுத்து ஆமைத்தாலிபூண்ட அனந்தசயனன்
தக்க மாமணிவண்ணன் வாசுதேவன் தளர்நடை நடவானோ.
(பெரிய. திரு. மொழி. 1-7-2)

10. வேலிக்கோல் வெட்டி விளையாடுவில் லேற்றி
தாலிக்கொழுந்தைத் தடங்கழுத்திற்பூண்டு
பீலித்தழையைப் பிணைத்துப்பிறகிட்டு
காலிப் பின் போவாற்கு ஓர் கோல் கொண்டுவா
கடல்வண்ணற்கு ஓர் கோல் கொண்டுவா.
(பெரிய. திரு. மொழி 2-6-1)

11. வரிவெண் தாலி வலைசெத்துவெரூஉம்.

century) and 3. the *Manicka Talis* (jewelled talis) of Jeevakan's wives in Jivaka-chintamani (10th century). There is also a reference in Perunkatai, of the hero Udayana's horse being decorated with a gold tali. Apart from the tali worn by a horse the other instances cited here refer to talis worn by women who are in the wedded state. However in none of these instances does the tali signify the wedded state. This will also be seen later in the descriptions of some of these weddings, where mention is made of all other wedding rituals except the tali-tying rite. The tali in these instances is only referred to as an ornament and does not symbolise the wedded state of the woman wearing it.

REFERENCES TO MARRIAGE RITUALS IN LITERATURE

The earliest reference to marriage rituals is met with in *Tolkappiam,* a Tamil 'grammar' of the Sangam age by *Tolkappiar.* In this classic it is mentioned that the common form of marriage was at first *Kalavu manam* or the simple cohabitation of the couple as man and wife without any formal rite or ceremony. This was in vogue among the ancient Tamils before the time of Tolkappiar. When falsehood and deceit appeared in this form of marriage, a formal ceremony or rite of marriage was prescribed by the priests. This type of marriage with rituals was called *Karpu-manam.* The principle rites of marriage prescribed at this stage are described in stanzas 86 and 136 of Ahananuru, an anthology of the Sangam Age. The rites consist of bathing the couple in water mixed with rice and flowers, dressing them up in new clothes and giving publicity to the event by feasting and music.

In stanza 86, the marriage is described by the bridegrooms thus: A feast was held. Sand was spread on the floor and a lamp was lit up. Early in the morning during the confluence of the moon and the asterism *Rohini* the elderly matrons brought pots of water to bathe the bride. Four elderly women who had borne children mixed rice grains and flowers with the water in those pots and gave the bride a wedding bath saying: "Without swerving from the path of chastity, doing many good deeds, may you become the desired wife of your husband!" Thus the bride's good marriage was celebrated.

In stanza 136, the marriage is described by the bridegroom thus: A feast was held with white rice cooked with meat. The moon and the asterism *Rohini* were in confluence. The bridegroom was adorned and prayers were offered to God. The wed-

ding music was in excess. The bride was given her wedding bath. She was adorned with a white wrist-thread made up of *Vagai* leaves and *Arugu* flowers. The elders dressed the bride in new clothes. The elders having adorned her with several ornaments were fanning away the sweat caused thereby. In both these descriptions of marriages in the Sangam Age, the principal rite seems to be the wedding bath of the bride and bridegroom after a public feast. Rice and flowers were mixed with the bath water. Then they are dressed in new clothes and are made to sit in the wedding booth to make it known to everybody that they are man and wife. Vedic rites have not yet made their appearance in these two descriptions.

Silappadikaram (the epic of the Anklet) by Ilangovadigal is one of the five great classics of Tamil literature. It belongs to the 2nd century A.D. In this epic is described the marriage of the hero Kovalan with Kannagi. Kannagi and Kovalan were lovers before marriage. Kannagi was twelve and Kovalan sixteen years of age at the time of their. marriage. "During the confluence of the moon and the asterism *Rohini* elderly Brahmans showed the couple the way of the Vedas. Kovalan went round the fire holding the hand of Kannagi. Women stood holding fragrant articles in their hands. Some held flowers. Some blessed them in prose. Others blessed in verse. Some held in their hands various kinds of fragrant pastes. Still others held in their hands incense. Some others held garlands in their hands. Still others held lamps, pots and *paligas* (pots with seedlings). The women, slender as creepers, prayed to their favourite god saying: "May this Kannagi become inseparable from her lord. May her lover without letting go of her hand with which he now holds her remain with her. May their love flourish without blemish." Some strew flowers on them. From the above description of the marriage of Kovalan and Kannagi it is seen that *Panigrahanam* or holding of the hand and going round the *Homa* or the sacred fire constitute the two principal Vedic rites. There is no mention of a tali tying rite anywhere in the marriage. Again in the same epic when Kannagi becomes a widow by the execution of her husband she removes her ornaments and breaks and throws away her bangles. The removal of the ornaments and the breaking and throwing away of bangles were the principal rites performed at widowhood at the period.

In the Tamil work *Perunkatai* by Kongu Velir of the 7th or 8th century the hero Udayana marries four wives. They are

Vasavadattai, Padumavati, Mananegai and Virisigai. The marriage rites are Vedic in character in all those four marriages. Among the rites are (1) homa, (2) the bride stepping on the stone, (3) throwing *pori* (parched rice) into the fire, (4) panigrahanam, (5) showing Arundati to the bride, and (6) blessings by the elders. Among these panigrahanam and homa are the principal rites. While there is no mention of the tali in connection with the marriage rites, it is referred in a number of other contexts which indicate clearly that it was only an ornament worn by women and even by horses. Thus Vasavadattai was wearing a Simmani-tali as an ornament and the hero Udayana's horse was decorated with a gold tali as an ornament.[12]

Probably the most clear, specific and detailed account of marriage rituals described in classical Tamil literature is that of Andal or Chudikkodutta Nachchiyar, (one of the twelve Vaishnava saints) of the 9th century. Andal, in the song Varanamayiram, gives a vivid description of her dream in which she is married to the Lord Vishnu. The song teems with rituals and most of these rituals, if not all of them, are being followed at the present day in orthodox Hindu marriages. The following are among the principal rites mentioned in the song: —

The celestials, including Indra, come to negotiate and settle her marriage with the Lord. She wears new bridal clothes. The bridegroom's sister, Anthari, garlands her. She has a wrist-thread tied to her. The bridegroom comes into the marriage booth. The music of conch and drum is in excess. As the Brahmans chant *mantras,* the Lord comes over, and takes hold of her hand and goes round the fire. He takes hold of her foot in his hand and places it on the stone. She is made to stand before the fire, place her hand on the Lord's hand, take pori (parched rice) and throw it into the fire. The bride is smeared with kunkumam (vermilion) and chandu (sandal paste). The bride and bridegroom are taken round from left to right in the marriage procession. They are bathed in turmeric water.

There is no mention of any tali tying rite in this beautiful and vivid description of the marriage ceremonies. The tali rite has

12. கலினங்காலின் கான்றுநுரை தெவிட்டும்
வலியுடையுரத்தின் வான் பொற்றாலி.
12:1. வாரணமாயிரம்

not yet come into vogue as part of marriage ritual of this period.[12.2]

12·2 வாரணமாயிரம் சூழவலஞ்செய்து
நாரணநம்பி நடக்கின்றானென்றுஎதிர்
பூரணபொற்குடம் வைத்துப்புறமெங்கும்
தோரணம்நாட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன் தோழீ! நான்.

நாளைவதுவை மணமென்றுநாளிட்டு
பாளைகமுகு பரிசுடைப்பந்தற்கீழ்
கோளரிமாதவன் கோவிந்தனென்பான் ஓர்
காளைபுகுதக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்.

இந்திரனுள்ளிட்ட சேவர்குழாமெல்லாம்
வந்திருந்துஎன்னை மகட்பேசிமந்திரித்து
மந்திரக்கோடியுடுத்தி மணமாலை
அந்தரிசூட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்.

நால்திசைத்தீர்த்தம்கொணர்ந்து நனிநல்கி
பார்ப்பனச்சிட்டர்கள் பல்லாரெடுத்தேத்தி
பூர்புனைக்கண்ணிப் புனிதனோடுஎன்தன்னை
காப்புநாண்கட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்.

கதிரொளிதீபம் கலசமுடனேந்தி
சதிரிளமங்கையர்தாம் வந்துஎதிர்கொள்ள
மதுரையார்மன்னன் அடிநிலைதொட்டு எங்கும்
அதிரப்புகுதக் கனாக்கண்டேன் தோழீ! நான்.

மத்தளம்கொட்ட வரிசங்கம்நின்றூத
முத்துடைத்தாமம் நிரைதாழ்ந்த பந்தற்கீழ்
மைத்துனன்நம்பி மதுசூதன்வந்து என்னை
கைத்தலம்பற்றக் கனாக்கண்டேன் தோழீ! நான்

வாய்நல்லார் நல்லமறையோதிமந்திரத்தால்
பாசிலைநாணல்படுத்துப் பரிதிவைத்து
காய்சினமாகளிறன்னான் என்கைப்பற்றி
வலஞ்செய்யக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்.

இம்மைக்கும் ஏழேழ்பிறவிக்கும் பற்றாவான்
நம்மையுடையன் நாராயணன்நம்பி
செம்மையுடையதிருக்கையால் தாள்பற்றி
அம்மிமிதிக்கக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்

வரிசிலைவாள்முகத்து என்னைமார்தாம்வந்திட்டு
எரிமுகம்பாரித்து என்னைமுன்னேநிறுத்தி
அரிமுகன் அச்சுதன் கைம்மேல்என்கைவைத்து
பொரிமுகந்தட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்.

குங்குமமப்பிக் குளிர்சாந்தமட்டித்து
மங்கலவீதி வலஞ்செய்துமணநீர்
அங்கு அவனோடும்உடன்சென்று அங்குஆனைமேல்
மஞ்சனமாட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன்தோழீ! நான்

ஆயனுக்காகத் தான்கண்டகனாவினை
வேயர்புகழ் வில்லிபுத்தூர்க்கோன்கோதைசொல்
தூயதமிழ்மாலை ஈரைந்தும்வல்லவர்
வாழும்நன்மக்களைப்பெற்று மகிழ்வரே.

Andal, in another of her popular devotional songs, says that the achu talis and Amai talis are jingling as the milkmaids with fragrant tresses move their hands to and fro and make sounds with the churning stick churning the milk. Here the reference is to the wearing of talis by the milkmaids purely as ornaments. (Tiruppavai—7).[12.3]

Tirutakka Tevar, a Jain author of the 10th century, wrote Jeevaka Chintamani, one of the five great classics of Tamil literature. In this story nine marriages are described. The Hero Jeevakan, marries eight wives. They are Gandharuva Thathai, Gunamalai, Padumai, Kemasari, Kanagamalai, Vimalai, Suramanjeri and Ilakkanai. His friend Padumugan marries Govindai. In all these marriages the principal rituals mentioned are *homa, dhara* and *panigrahanam.* There is no mention of tali tying rite in any of them. But later on in the story the wives of Jeevakan are described as wearing Manicka Talis as ornaments around their necks.

In the Tirutondar Tiruvanthati of Nambi Andar Nambi of the 11th century, the author says that Kungillia Kalaya Nayanar disposed of his wife's tali and purchased incense. Here Nambi Andar Nambi refers to the tali as Kathali Tali (tali of the mistress) and not as Mangalanool Tali as Sekkilar states very clearly in his Tirutondar Puranam of the 12th century. This statement by Nambi Andar Nambi does not indicate, clearly whether the tali referred to by him as one worn by the Nayanar's wife as an emblem of her wedded state or merely as an ornament. It is at this period in the history of South India that the distinction between the tali as an ornament and as an emblem of the wedded state appears for the first time. Thus in Tamil literature of the 11th and 12th centuries the tali is mentioned both as an ornament and as a badge denoting the wedded state. Of such literature the principal ones are (1) Kanda Puranam by Kanchiappa Sivachariar of the latter part of the 11th century, (2) Kalingathu

12·3 கீசுகீசென்றுளங்கும் ஆனைச்சாத்தான் கலந்து
பேசினபேச்சரவம் கேட்டிலையோ? பேய்ப்பெண்ணே!
காசும்பிறப்பும் கலகலப்பக்கைபேர்த்து
தாசநறுங்குழலாய்ச்சியர் மத்தினால்
ஓசைபடுத்த தயிராரவம்கேட்டிலையோ?
நாயகப்பெண்பிள்ளாய்! நாராயணன்மூர்த்தி
கேசவனைப்பாடவும் நீகேட்டேகிடத்தியோ?
தேசமுடையாய்! திறவேலோரெம்பாவாய்.

Parani by Jayakondar of the 11th century, (3) Takka Yaga Parani by Ottakuttar of the 12th century, (4) Tirutondar Puranam or Peria Puranam by Sekkiḻar of the earlier part of the 12th century and (5) Kamba Ramayanam by Kambar of the latter part of the 12th century.

In Kanda Puranam three marriages are described: The marriages of (1) Uma, (2) Valli and (3) Devayanai. The author describes the marriage of Uma with Siva, as being celebrated according to the Vedic ritual ritual of panigrahanam (holding the hand). There is no mention of tali tying as a rite in the marriage of Siva with Uma. The marriage of Valli with Kanda is described. Narada officiates as Purohit and the principal rites are panigrahanam and going round the 'Homa' or sacred fire. Again there is no mention of tali tying as a rite of marriage. But in the marriage of Devasena with Kanda there is mention of tali-tying. Indra, the bride's father, performs *pada puja* to Kanda, then places his daughter's hand in that of Kanda (Panigrahanam) and says that he gives her away. He then performs Dhara (pouring water). Then Brahma conceives in his mind and gives by his hand the *Mangalanan* (auspicious thread) to Kanda who puts it round the neck of *Devasena*. The tying of a thread by the bridegroom around the bride's neck as a marriage ritual is seen here for the first time.[13]

The tali as an emblem of the wedded state is referred to again in Kanda Puranam. Siva, the great god, protected the golden talis[14] of the wives of the celestials including Brahma by swallowing the poison which came out when the sea of milk was churned. This meant that he saved the lives of their husbands, their golden talis being significant of their wedded state. While in the marriage of

13. மங்கலநாணை மணிக்களம் ஆர்த்து
நங்கை முடிக் கொர் நறுந்தொடை சூழ்ந்தான்.
(கந்த புராணம் 247)

14. செற்றுல முயிரனைத்து முண்டிடவே
நிமிர்ந் தெழுவுந் சிந்தை மேற்கொள்
பற்றுலகது நுகர்ந்து நான்முகனே
முதலோர் தம் பாவைமார்கள்

பொற்றாலிதனையளித் தோன் புகழ் போற்றி
முகின் மேனி புத் தேளிவைகும்
குற்றுல மாவதொரு வளநகரைக்
குறுமுனிவன் குறுகினுல்.
(கந்த புராணம் 4)

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Kanda with Devayani the author speaks of only the *Mangalanan* (auspicious thread) he refers to *Porrali* (golden talis) in the case of the wives of the celestials, Brahma included. This would show that the thread was first the emblem and later both the thread and the golden ornament strung on it constituted the emblem of the wedded state.

In *Kalingathu Parani* there is mention of the *Aimpadai Tali* as an ornament in more than one instance while the principal rite of marriage mentioned is panigrahanam or holding the hand.

In *Takka Yaga Parani* it is mentioned that the talis[15] worn by the womenfolk of Takkan were taken away by the hordes of Virabhadra meaning that the retainers of Thakkan were killed and thus their womenfolk become widowed.

The tali as an emblem of the wedded state is mentioned again in the *Tirutondar Puranam* or *Peria Puranam* of Sekkiḷar of the 12th century. In this work, which narrates the lives of the sixty-three Saivite saints a number of marriages are described.

The marriage of Tirugnana Sambanda Nayanar is celebrated according to the following Vedic rites. The bride's father performed *Pada Puja* (washing the feet) to the bridegroom. He gives away the bride by dhara (pouring water). Vedic hymns are sung. The union is blessed. Pori (parched rice) is thrown in the fire. The bridegroom takes hold of the hand of the bride (panigrahanam) and goes round the fire (homa). There is no mention of the tali tying ceremony.

The marriage of Sundaramurti Nayanar with Paravai Nachiyar is described by Sekkiḷar in Tirutondar Puranam as taking place in the temple of Tiruvarur and the marriage of Sundaramurti Nayanar with Sangili Nachiyar in the temple of Tiruvottiyur. Sekkiḷar does not mention any tali tying rite in any of these marriages.

The following references to the tali in this work, Tirutondar Puranam, signify the wedded state of the women wearing it or the widowhood of the women without it. In Kungilia Kalaya Nayanar Puranam the author makes a reference to Mangala Nool Tali (auspicious thread tali). This is a clear indication that the tali mentioned here is a badge of the married state. God Siva

15. மைய லான் மிகுந் தக்கன் மக்களாம்
தைய லாரையும் தாலி வாரியே.

wanted to test the great devotion of the Nayanar who used to burn incense (Kungiliam) at his shrine. So he was made to suffer from dire poverty. The entire family was starving for lack of food. The Nayanar's wife *gave her husband her faultless marriage thread tali and asked him to get rice.*[16] Here there is mention of the tali as an ornament strung on an auspicious thread and this indicates the wedded state. The tali is removed from the thread and given away for the purchase of rice. The ornament strung on the thread is removed and sold. Thus the wedded state is indicated not only by the ornament but by the thread on which it was strung. This would indicate different stages in the significance of the tali and the tali rite.

At first the auspicious thread was the emblem of marriage. This was noticed in Kanda Puranam in the wedding of Kanda with Devasana where the author Kacchiappa Sivachariar mentions only the mangala nool and later the golden tali which he mentions in relation to the wives of the celestials including Brahma. This is the state in which we see it here in the life of Kungilia Kalaya Nayanar. Here the tali and the thread on which it was strung, indicate the wedded state. The tali was removed to purchase rice as a last resort on account of the extreme poverty of the Nayanar.

There is yet another reference in the Tirutondar Puranam of Sekkilar to the tali as an emblem of the wedded state. In Tiru Gnana Sambandar Puranam, he refers to the Mangala Nan (marriage thread)[17] of the Pandyan Queen Mangayarkarasi as protected by Tiru Gnana Sambandhar when he first caused and later cured the fever of the Pandiyan King Ninra-Seer-Nedu-Maran.

16. யாதொன்றும் இல்லை யாகி இருபகல் உணவு மாறிப்
போதினும் மைந்த ரோடும் பெருகுசுற் றத்தைநோக்கி
காதல்செய் மனைவியார் தங் கணவனார் கலயனார்க்கைக
கோதுல்மங் கல நூல் தாலி கொடுத்து நெற்கொள்ளு மென்றார்.
(திரு. தொ. புரா. 11-9)

17. பாண்டி மாதேவியார் பொற்பில்
பயிலு நெடுமங்கலநாண் பாதுகாத்தும்
ஆண்டகையார் குலச்சிறையார் அன்பினாலும்
அரசன்பால் அபராத முறுதலாலும்
மீண்டு சிவநெறியடையும் விதியினாலும்
வெண்ணீறுவெப்பகலப் புகலி வேந்தர்
திண்டியிடப் பேறுடையன் ஆதலாலும்
தீப்பிணியைப் பையவே செல்க என்றார்.
(திரு. தொ. புரா. 705)

Again Sekkilar refers to the widowhood of Tilakavati, elder sister of Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar. She is affianced to Kalippagai who dies in battle. So she does not wear the thread with the beautiful gold bead[18] (as she has assumed widowhood) and continued to live for the sake of bringing up her younger brother Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar. Here the thread with the beautiful gold bead is significant of the wedded state.[18]

In the Kamba Ramayana of the 12th century there are some references to the tali as the emblem of the wedded state. In the marriage of Ram with Sita the author mentions *Dhara, homa, panigrahanam,* stepping on the stone and seeing Arundati, as the principal rites of marriage while there is no mention of tali tying as a marriage rite. When Kaikeyi wants her son to be crowned and Rama to be banished, the king curses her saying that her neck-thread would become the wrist thread of her son.[19] The implication here is that her son will wear his wrist thread (kappu nan) for his coronation only after she loses her neck thread by becoming a widow. A thread around the neck of a woman is an indication of her wedded state. A widow is spoken of as the threadless or as as one without a thread. In the same work Trisadai narrates to Sita her dream that the *Mangala talis*[20] of the rakshasa women broke loose from their necks and fell down upon their breasts without any one pulling them off with his hands. The reference here to Mangala Talis indicate that they are emblems of the wedded state of the rakshasa women and their loss in Tirisadai's dream was prophetic of the deaths of their husbands.

In the Tiruvilaiadal by *Perum Parra Puliyur Nambi* of the 13th century there are no references to the tali rite as a marriage ceremony. The marriage of Siva (Sundara) with Tadatagai, who was ruling Madurai was according to Vedic rites. In this and in

18. பெற்றோரும் மணம் நேர்ந்த கலிப்பகையும் உயிர்கொடுத்தே
பெற்றோர் புகழ் திலகவதியும் அது துணிந்தார், மருள் நீக்கியார்
உம்பருல கணையவுறுநிலை நீக்க உயிர்தாங்கி
அம்பொன் மணிநூல் தாங்காது அனைத்துயிர்க்கும் அருள்தாங்கி
இம்பர் மனைத் தவம்புரிந்து திலகவதியார் இருந்தார்.
(திரு. தொ. புரா. 21-34)

19. நின் கழுத்தின் நான் உன் மகற்குக் காப்பின் நாணும் என்றான்.

20. மங்கையர் மங்கலத்தாலி மற்றையோர்
அங்கையின் வாங்கினர் எவருமன்றியே
கொங்கையின் வீழ்ந்தன குறித்த வாற்றினால்
இங்கி தன் அற்புதம் இன்னும் கேட்டியால்.

all other marriages described by Perum Parra Puliyur Nambi, the principal rites are Dhara and Panigrahanam. The bride's father gives away the bride pouring water and the bridegroom takes hold of her hand. But in the same work there is a reference to the tali as the emblem of the wedded state in the chapter where God Siva appears as the maternal uncle of a boy, whose Dayadis (agnates) had taken away by force all the property left to him by his maternal uncle who had adopted him. The boy's mother in the widowed state is here referred to as a woman who had lost her thread.[21] In the story God Siva appeared as the maternal uncle of the boy, pleaded his case before a court of law and had all his property restored to him.

In the Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam by Paranjothi of the 16th century the author mentions Siva (Sundara) as tying a tali around the neck of Tadatagai in his marriage to her, in addition to the following Vedic rites. Vishnu does padapuja (washing the feet) to Siva. The hand of Siva is placed on the hand of Tadatagai and water is poured over them (dhara). The rishi's wives, and Saraswati and Lakshmi sing Mangalam. Brahma performs the sacrifice (velvi). As the four Vedas are chanted and as a music is being sounded, Siva ties the *Mangalanan*[22] (auspicious thread) around the neck of Tadatagai and holds her hand (panigrahanam). Again Paranjothi, describing the marriage of Ugra Pandiyan with Kanthimathi, says that the bridegroom ties a *mangalanan*[23] to the bride.

However in two other marriages in this work the tali rite is not mentioned. In Virutha Kumara Balarana Padalam, a Saivite Brahman gives away his daughter in marriage to a Vaishnavite Brahman boy by the rite of Dhara or pouring water. In Vanniyum Kinarum Lingamun Alaitha Padalam when the two wives

21. மங்கல நாற்ணிழந்த மடந்தை.
(நம்பி. திரு. விளை. — V. 6)

22. சுற்று நான் மறைகளார்ப்பத் தூரியஞ் சங்க மேங்கக்
கற்ற நான் முகத்தோன் வேள்விச் சடங்கு நூல் கரைத்து வாற்றால்
முற்ற மங்கலநாண் சாத்தி முழுதுல கின்றாள் செங்கை
பற்றினன் பற்றிலார்க் கேவிடருள் பரமயோகி.
(திரு. விளை. புரா. 5-183)

23. பொதிய வழ் கடப்பந் தண்டார்ப் புயத்தினங் காளையன்றான்
முதியவர் செந்தீ யோம்ப வின்னிய முழங்கக் காந்தி
மதியைமங் கலநாண் பூட்டி வரிவளைச் செங்கை பற்றி
விதிவழி யேனை மன்றல் வினையெலா நிம்பச்செய்தான்.
(திரு. விளை. புரா. 12-24)

of the merchant quarrel, the senior wife asks the junior wife if she had really married her husband with fire as witness.[24] Thus Dhara and Homa continue to be important rites of marriage.

References in literature to the tali as an ornament are abundant throughout the last two millennia beginning from the literature of the sangam age and extending upto the modern period. In all these references up to the 11th or 12th century there is no relation between the ornament as such and the wedded state of a woman which it came to represent subsequently. Beginning from the marriages described in the anthology Agananuru and the marriage of Kovalan and Kanagi in Silappadigaram till the dream marriage of Andal the tali rite for marriage is not described simply because it did not exist during this period of over a thousand years. Even in the second millennium in the descriptions of all marriages the principal rites of marriage are Homa, Dara and Panigrahana and very rarely the rite of the bridegroom tying the tali around the bride's neck. If at all the tali is mentioned during this period it is referred to as the emblem of the wedded state of the woman and not in relation to the principal rite of marriage rite of marriage except in the few cases cited. Thus among the three marriages in Kandapuranam the tali rite is described in only one. The tali rite is not described in the marriage of Sambandar or Sundarar in the Tirutondar Puranam. There is no tali rite in the marriage of Rama and Sita in Kamba Ramayanam. In all these marriages the tali rite is not in evidence. If the tali is mentioned it is in signifying the wedded state of the woman wearing it. These references to the tali as signifying the wedded state of women are however met with only from the literature of the 11th century and not earlier.

24. உரியவன் நிமுன்னுக வுன்னை வேட்டதற்கு வேறு
கரியுள தாகிற் கூறிக் காட்டெனக் கழற லோடும்
எரி சுட வாடிச் சாய்ந்த விணர் மலர்கொம்பிற்சாம்பித்
தெரியிழை நாணுஞ்சாய்ப்ப நின்றிது செப்புகின்றாள்.
(திரு. விளை. புரா. 39-38)

25. மரணப்ர மாத நமக்கில்லை யாமென்றும் வாய்த்ததுணை
கிரணக் கலாபியும் வேலுமுண் டேகிண் கிணிமுகுள
சரணப்ர தாப சசிதேவி மங்கல்ய தந்துரக்ஷா
பரணக்ரு பாகர ஞான கரசுர பாஸ்கரனே. (கந்தரலங்காரம் 21)

26. சேல்வாங்கு கன்னியர் வண்ணப்பயோதரஞ் சேரஎண்ணி
மால்வாங்கி யேங்கி மயங்கமால் வெற்றி மலையெனவே
கால்வாங்கி நிற்குங் களிற்றான் கிழத்தி கழுத்திற்கட்டு
நூல்வாங்கிடாதன்று வேல்வாங்கி பூங்கழல் நோக்கு நெஞ்சமே.
(கந்தரலங்காரம் 77)

II. ETHNOGRAPHIC REFERENCES TO THE TALI RITE

In several South Indian castes and tribes the *tali* is referred to as an ornament worn by women and children in the following contexts: 1. It is worn purely as an ornament. 2. It is worn by female children who are invested with it at an initiation ceremony or rite of passage. This rite may be carried on before puberty, at puberty or after puberty. In all these cases it is quite distinct from the marriage rite which it precedes. 3. The tali is tied as an ornament around the bride's neck by her husband or some other person as a marriage rite or the principal marriage rite. Tali tying was also a regular feature of such initiation rites as the dedication of dancing girls to temples, etc. (Devadasis, Matangis, Basavis).

Kolli Hill Malayalis

The Kolli Hill Malayalis are a Tamil speaking agricultural people inhabiting the Kolli hills of Salem district. They are the most conservative of the Malayalis in that they exhibit some of the most primitive customs that are to be found among the Nilgiri tribes on one side and the peoples of Kerala on the other. Among such customs the present writer found all female children and all women, young and old, married or unmarried, wearing bottu talis. This type of ornament is a cupshaped ornament of gold. There is no rite or ceremony connected with the wearing of these bottu talis by women and female children. The parents of the children adorn them with the ornaments and they continue to wear them right through their lives. All the female children and the women in the illustration are wearing bottu talis.

Apart from the ornamental bottu tali worn by females among these people they have tali tying as the principal rite of marriage.

The tali is made of gold. A square gold bead is strung on a thread and this is tied around the bride's neck at marriage. This is later removed and replaced by the regular tali which is of the Tamil type. The tali is single and worn on a single thread. The thread is worn fairly closely round the neck. No additional beads are worn. The friends, relations, the Ur Goundar (village headman), Karakkarar (clan chiefs) and the bride and bridegroom assemble in the marriage pandal some time before the muhurtam (auspicious hour). The Karakkarar ask if the tali can be tied. The Ur Goundars say, 'Yes'. Immediately the tali is given to the bridegroom by the Karakkaran. (The tali must have been

prepared at the cost of the bridegroom's party). The bridegroom puts it round the bride's neck and puts one single knot. Then the Karakkarar puts two knots. No one else participates in the tying of the tali. Previous to this rite certain rites are carried out in the pandal. After this the Karakkarar puts on sandal paste on their foreheads themselves. Others follow this. The couple prostrate before the assembly. After this a feast is held.

Irulas of Attapady

The Irulas are hill cultivators and cattlemen of the Attapady hills of Kerala. At the outset of the first menstruation of an Irula girl she is segregated in a separate hut put up for the occasion for seven days. None of the men folk should see her during this period. On the eighth day she is given a purificatory bath and is dressed in new clothes (kodi mundu). She is then fed by her father's sister's son or daughter who ties a tali (a string of black beads with a Kasu or coin) around her neck. This tali tying rite is called *Niranja Kalyanam.*

Marriage is celebrated in the bride's house. The girl's father has to bear the cost of the tali, jewels and clothes. The tali is tied by the bridegroom at 7 o'clock in the evening after a feast. This marriage is called *Peria Kalyanam* and is negotiated and celebrated by the headmen of both the bride's and bridegroom's villages.

Kappiliyars

The Kappiliyars are Canarese speaking farmers of Madurai and Tirunelveli districts. They have the rite of tying a turmeric dyed thread around the neck of a girl on coming of age. This is a very simple form of tali tying or a puberty rite. This tali tying ceremony is dispensed with if the girl is already married. Instead she is adorned with glass bangles by a married woman. It is also noteworthy that in their marriage rites there is no tali tying ceremony. Adorning the bride and bridegroom with toe rings by their maternal uncles and linking their fingers together constitute the principal marriage rites.

Initiation: "At the first menstrual period, a girl remains under pollution for 13 days in a corner of the house or outside it in the village common land (Mandai). If she remains within, her maternal uncle makes a screen and if outside, a temporary hut. On the 13th day the girl bathes in a tank, and she enters the house, has to pass over a pestle and cake. A cotton thread, dyed

with turmeric, is tied round her neck by a married woman, and if she herself is married, she puts on glass bangles. The hut is burnt down and the pots she used are broken to atoms.

Marriage: "Marriage is as a rule, adult, and the common emblem of married life — the tali or bottu — is dispensed with. On the first day of the marriage ceremonies, the bride and bridegroom are conducted, towards evening, to the houses of their maternal uncles. There the nalangu ceremony, or smearing the body with Phaseolus mungo, sandal and turmeric paste, is performed, and the uncles place toe rings on the feet of the contracting couple. On the following day the bride price is paid, and betel is distributed in the presence of a Kummara, Urumikaran, and washerman to the villagers in a special order of precedence. On the third day, the bridegroom goes in procession to the house of the bride, and their fingers are linked together by the maternal uncle or uncles." (E.T. iii. 218.)

Kallar

The Kallar are agriculturists in the Southern districts of Madras who were formerly cattle lifters. Among the Kallars of Madurai district, girls wear necklaces of coloured glass beads before they attain age, horse hair necklets on coming of age and again horse hair necklets on marriage.

Initiation: "When a girl has attained maturity, she puts away the necklace of coloured glass beads she wore as a child, and dons the horse hair necklet, which is characteristic of the Kallar women. This she retains till her death, even if she becomes a widow. The richer Kallars substitute for the horse hair, a necklace of many strands of fine silver wire. In Tirumangalam, the women often hang round their necks, a most curious brass and silver pendant, six or eight inches long, and elaborately worked.

"Marriage: When a wedding takes place the sister of the bridegroom goes to the house of the parents of the bride, and presents them with 21 kali fanams (coins) and a cloth and at the same time ties some horse hair round the bride's neck. She then brings her and her relatives to the house of the bridegroom, where a feast is prepared. After this the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the house of the latter, and the ceremony of an exchange between them of Vallari thadis or boomerangs is solemnly performed. Another feast is then given in the bride's house, and the bride is presented by her parents with one markal of rice

and a hen. She then goes with her husbad to his house." (E. T. iii. 77.)

Maravar

The Maravans are cultivators of Madura and Tirunelveli who were expert hunters and robbers in former times.

"In one form of the marriage rites, the bridegroom's party proceeds on an auspicious day which has been fixed beforehand, to the home of the bride, taking with them five coconuts, five bunches of plantains, five pieces of turmeric, betel, and the flowers and the tali strung on a thread dyed with turmeric. At the auspicious hour, the bride is seated within the house on a plank, facing east. The bridegroom's sister removes the string of black beads from her neck, and ties the tali thereon. While this is being done the conch shell is blown and women indulge in a shrill kind of keening (Kulavai idal). The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, where they sit side by side on a plank and the ceremony of warding off the evil eye is performed. Further milk is poured by people with crossed hands over the heads of the couple. A feast is held in which meat takes a prominent part." (E. T. v. 35.)

Agamudaiyar

The Agamudaiyans are a cultivating caste found in all the Tamil districts.

"The marriage ceremonial as carried out among the proper Agamudaiyans, is very simple. The sister of the bridegroom proceeds to the house of the bride on an auspicious day, followed by a few females carrying a woman's cloth, a few jewels, flowers, etc. The bride is seated close to a wall, facing east. She is dressed up in the cloth which has been brought and seated on a plank. Betel leaves, areca nuts, and flowers are presented to her by the bridegroom's sister and she puts them in her lap. A turmeric dyed string or garland is then placed round the bride's neck by the bridegroom's sister, while the conch shell (musical instrument) is blown. On the same day the bride is conducted to the house of bridegroom, and a feast is held." (E.T. i. 9.)

Karaikkat Vellalas

The Karaikkat Vellalas are a territorial division of the great farmer caste of the Tamil country inhabiting the southern districts of Madras. Every girl of this community undergoes an ini-

tiation rite when a tali of gold and coral beads is tied to her by her potential mate or maternal uncle. The present writer finds that this rite in which the maternal uncle or cross cousin of the girl ties a tali called the *kodachimani* at her *Vilakkidu Kalyanam* still in vogue among this community.

Initiation: "Among the Karaikkat Vellalas, a peculiar ceremony called *Vilakkidu Kalyanam* or the auspicious ceremony of lighting the light is performed for girls in the seventh or ninth year or later but before marriage. The ceremony consists in worshipping Ganesa and the sun of the house of the girl's parents. Her maternal uncle ties round her neck a necklace of gold beads and coral and gives her a new cloth. All the relations, who are invited to be present, make gifts to the girl. The women of this section wear this ornament, which is called *Kodachimani* (hooked jewel), even after they are married." (E.T. vii. 380).

Nattukottai Chettis

The Nattukottai Chettis are the most prosperous traders and money-lenders of the Southern districts of Madras. They have among them an initiation rite of tali tying for their girls before marriage. Before marriage a girl wears only glass bead necklaces. At her initiation it is replaced by a necklace of gold beads. Again at her marriage she is invested with the tali, a very large and costly ornament by an elderly man of her community and not by her husband. This costly tali is not worn always by the married woman but is worn only on ceremonial occasions.

Initiation: "Every girl has to go through a ceremony, called *thiruvadhirai*, before marriage. On the day of the *Arudradarisanam* festival, she is bathed and decorated. A necklace of gold beads is placed on her neck instead of the necklace of glass beads (pasimani), which she has hitherto worn. She proceeds with a silver cup to the houses where other girls are performing the ceremony. Various kinds of vegetables are placed in the silver vessel, cooked and distributed. Cakes, called dosai, are made in the house and during their preparation, holes are made in them by married women with an iron style. These cakes are also distributed and it is taken as an insult if any individual does not receive one.

Marriage: The sacred fire is lighted, and homam performed by the Brahman purohit. An old man, who has had a number of children and belongs to a temple other than that of the

bride, and the bridegroom's sister, then ties the tali string round her neck. This string bears a large tali about seven inches long and four inches broad, and seventeen to twenty three gold ornaments, often of considerable value. For every day wear, the massive ornaments are replaced by a smaller set. Immediately after the tali is tied, the marriage contract is written. (E.T. v. 253.)

Marakkayar

The Marakkayar are a Tamil speaking Musalman tribe of mixed Hindu and Musalman origin, the people of which are usually traders. They are particularly numerous in Porto Novo, South Arcot District.

"In one form of the marriage rites, the ceremonial extends over four days. The most important items on the first day are fixing the mehr (bride price) in the presence of the vakils (representatives) and the performance of the nikka rite by the Kazi. The nikka Kudbha is read, the bride standing within a screen. During the reading of the Kudbha, a sister of the bridegroom ties a string of black beads round the bride's neck. All the women present set up a roar called *Kulavai idal*. On the following day the couple sit among women and the bridegroom ties a golden tali on the bride's neck. On the third or fourth day a cereomny called *papparakkolam*, or Brahman disguise is performed. The bride is dressed like a Brahman woman, and holds a brass vessel in one hand, and a stick on the other. Approaching the bridegroom she strikes him gently and says, "Did not I give you buttermilk and curds? Pay me for them." The bridegroom then places a few tamarind seeds in the brass vessel, but the bride objects to this and demands money, accompanying the demand with strokes of the stick. The man places copper, silver and gold coins in the vessel and the bride retires in triumph to her chamber. (E.T. v. 4.)

Syrian Christians

The Syrian Christians of Kerala have the tali rite for marriage "Among the Jacobites (Syrian Christians) early marriage was the rule until comparatively recently, boys being married at ten or twelve years of age and girls at six or seven. Now the more usual age for marriage is sixteen in the case of boys and twelve in the case of girls. Weddings take place on Sundays in the parish church. On the Thursday before the wedding day, the house is decorated with rice flour and on the Saturday, the marriage pandal

(booth) is built. The first ceremonial takes place on Saturday night when the bride and bridegroom bathe, and the latter is shaved. Next morning both bride and bridegroom attend the ordinary mass, the bridegroom being careful to enter the church before the bride. Before leaving his house, the bridegroom is blessed by his guru to whom he gives a present (dakshina) of clothes and money. He is accompanied by a best man, usually his sister's husband, who brings the tali. After mass, a tithe (pathuvaram) of the bride's dowry is paid to the church as the marriage fee, a further fee to the priest (Kaikasturi) and fee called Kaimuttupanam for the bishop.. The marriage service is then read, and at its conclusion the bridegroom ties the tali round the bride's neck with threads taken from her veil, making a special kind of knot, while the priest holds the tali in front. The priest and the bridegroom then put a veil (mantravadi) over the bride's head. The tali should not be removed so long as the girl is married and should be buried with her." (E.T. vi. 451.)

Devadasis

"Among the Kaikolan musicians of Coimbatore, at least one Girl in every family should be set apart for the temple service, and she is instructed in music and dancing. At the tali-tying ceremony she is decorated with jewels, and made to stand upon a heap of paddy (unhusked rice). A folded cloth is held before her by two Dasis who also stand on heaps of paddy. The girl catches hold of the cloth and her dancing master, who is seated behind her, grasping, her legs, moves them up and down in time with the music which is played. In the evening she is taken astride a pony to the temple, where a new cloth for the idol, the tali, and other articles required for doing puja (worship) have been got ready. The girl is seated facing the idol and the officiating Brahman gives sandal and flowers to her, and ties the tali, which has been lying at the feet of idol round her neck. The tali consists of a golden disc and black beads. She continues to learn music and dancing, and eventually goes through the form of a nuptial ceremony. The relations are invited on an auspicious day, and the maternal uncle, or his representative, ties a golden band on the girl's forehead and carrying her, places her on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brahman priest recites mantram (prayers) and prepares the sacred fire (homam). For the actual nuptials a rich Brahman, if possible, and if not a Brahman of more lowly status is invited" (E. T. ii 138 ff).

Matangi

The Matangi are a class of prostitutes who are held in much respect in Mysore and Andhra. The Matangi is an unmarried woman though she is not bound by a vow of celibacy. She is chosen after a most trying ordeal, unless she happens to be descended from a previous Matangi, to represent the goddess Matangi. During the village festivals the Matangi abuses and spits upon the people assembled there, the high class Reddis, the purse proud Komatis and even the sacred Brahmans, and they do not take this as an insult, because they think the spittle removes the pollution. In the Canarese country the ceremony of the initiation into matangihood is performed by a Vakkaliga priest. A veritable marriage booth is set up in the courtyard of the house with rice flour, turmeric and kunkuma muggu or patterns on the floor, five small pots of water and plantain stems in the corners. The woman who is about to become a Matangi should live on fruits and milk for five days previous to the ceremony. She is dressed in a white sari, and seats herself on the muggu close to the central pot. A bamboo basket, containing a pot bearing the device of the two footprints of Ellamma, an earthen or wooden receptacle, an iron lamp and cane is placed on her head. There are the insignia of the Matangi. The Asādi (who is the male counterpart of the Matangi) sings songs about Ellamma, and the Vakkaliga priest throws rice over the novice's head, feet, knees and shoulders and ties two bottus (marriage badges) called respectively Ellamma's and Parasurama's bottu on her neck. The new and old Matangis bawl out Ekkalde Jogavva. The ceremony closes with the drinking of toddy by the Matangis and Asadis. (E.T. v. 297.)

Basavis.

"In Bellary and Mysore the object of making a Basavi is to perpetuate the family when there is no male heir. If the only issue in a family is a female, the family becomes extinct if she marries, as by marriage she changes her sept. To prevent this, she is not married, but dedicated as a Basavi and continues to belong to her father's sept, to which also any male issue which is born to her belongs. In the Kurnool district the motive in making Basavis is different. The girl is not wedded to an idol, but on an auspicious day, is tied by means of a garland of flowers to the garuda kambham (lamp) of a Balija Dasari. She is then released either by the man who is to receive her first favours, or by her maternal uncle. A simple feast is held, and a string or black

heads tied round the girl's neck. She becomes a prostitute and her children do not marry into respectable Boya families." "A sword with a lime struck on its point is placed upright beside the novice, and held in her right hand. It represents the bridegroom who in the corresponding ceremony of Hindu marriage, sits on the bride's left. A tray, on which are Kalasam (vessel of water) and lamp, is then produced and moved thrice in front of the girl. She rises, and carrying the sword in her right hand, places it in the God's sanctuary. Among the dancing girls very similar ceremonies are performed. With them the girl's spouse is represented by a drum instead of a sword, and she bows to it. Her insignia consist of a drum and bells. In dedication of Basavis a tali on which is depicted the namam of Vishnu, fastened to a necklace of black beads, is tied round her neck. She is given by way of insignia a cane as a wand, carried in the right hand and a gopalam or begging basket, which is slung on the left arm. She is then branded with the emblems of the *chank* and *chakra*." (E.T. II 136-137.)

Talikattu of Malabar

"The tali kattu Kalyanam is somewhat analogous to what a devadasi (dancing girl) of other countries (districts) undergoes before she begins her profession. Among royal families, and those of certain Edaprabhus, a Kshatriya, and among the Charna sect a Nedungadi is invited to the girl's house at an auspicious hour appointed for the purpose, and, in the presence of friends and castemen, ties a tali (marriage badge) round her neck, and goes away after receiving a certain fee for his trouble. (E. T. II 137-138). The retention of the tali is not at all obligatory, nay it is seldom worn or taken care of after the ceremony. These circumstances clearly show the purely ceremonial character or this form of marriage" (E.T. V. 313 ff).

Except the Nampudiri Brahmins, the lowest castes, and the aboriginal tribes, among all other Hindu communities of the Malabar coast girls have to undergo, before attaining puberty, an elaborate rite in which (1) they are secluded for a short period of time as though they have manstruated; (2) after the period of seclusion they are invested with a small ornament known as the tali by an adult male who is a member of a superior caste, an unrelated member of the same caste, a cross cousin, an aunt or the shaman of a goddess, according to local custom or the economic means of the celebrants of the rite, (3) in most cases after the

ritual of investing the girl with the tali she and the man have to spend some hours or days together; and (4) there is in some localities a formal separation or ceremonial destruction of the tie created by the rite. (A. A. 1942.)

III

THE TALI SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS

The representations of the tali in South Indian sculptures and paintings have been explained as signifying the wedded state of the women or goddesses who are thus adorned. A detailed study of such instances reveals the fact that the wedded state is represented in the earlier periods by ornaments in general and not by the tali in particular. Thus the ear ornaments, the neck ornaments and the wrist and arm ornaments all together represented the wedded state. This is in consonance with the evidence of literature.

South Indian sculptures: In most of the bronzes of the early Chola and late Chola period the female deities such as Kali, Sita, Durga, Sri Devi and Bhu Devi, Uma in Somaskanda groups and Jyeshta are adorned with the typical tali popularly known as bottu, a cup shaped disc with usually a pair of beads one on either side of the bottu, strung of a thread close fitting the neck. This type of bottu and the way in which it is worn is similar to the mode of the women of the Telugu castes, who wear tali bottus with a pair of black beads or with a full string of black beads, with the string tied close to the neck and not hanging down in between the breasts as in the case of Tamil women who wear the Tamil or forked type of tali.

In such instances of the sculptures as noted above the usual interpretation of their signifying the wedded state of the wearer has been assumed by Gravely and Ramachandran who say "Female figures wear the tali, symbol of the marriage tie, round the neck. This has the form of a thread usually with a small knot or ornamental fastening in front." The assumption that the ornaments represented in the sculptures are talis symbolising the marriage tie cannot be conceded as such ornaments are found to adorn both married and virgin deities. The sculptures by themselves offer no evidence to indicate that their ornamental talis symbolise the wedded state of the deities. (F. H. G. and T. N. R. 1932, p. 19).

In describing the ornaments depicted in the early Buddhist sculptures of Amaravati, Sivaramamurty considers ear ornaments (kundalas) and necklaces (haras) and bracelets (valayas) as denoting the wedded state or *saumangalya* of the women wearing them. This is based not merely on the depiction of the ornaments in the sculptures described, but by those descriptions in the literature of the period. 'Jewelled Kundalas though worn by men, were not altogether discarded by women; and in the Gathasapthasati there is a verse describing the altered circumstances of a lady in whose ears, which once bore golden kundalas, are to be seen strips of rolled palm leaf. But the usual ornament for the ears of women were *talapatra,* a small strip of tinted palm leaf, a simple and cheaper ornament. It is very auspicious and is a sign of saumangalya i.e., good fortune in wedded life,—in other words with the husband living.

Necklaces of cotton thread perfumed with such scents as the purse of the individual could afford, were used by women. Children always wore a necklace of tiger's claws (*Kadambari,* 40 and Harshacharitra, 134) Bracelets. The *Gathasaptasati* (1, 80) mentions a perforated bracelet (*jalavalaya*) and gives a beautiful description of a woman after the bath removing turmeric dust from the performations of the *jalavalaya* with a pick.... The *Gathasaptasati* was complied by the very king under whose patronage the Amaravati sculptures were produced.

The term *Chirachuduka* was applied mainly to bracelets of rhinoceros horn but included ivory also. Both were considered specially auspicious. Bracelets were worn by men and women alike, but in the case of the latter they symbolised *Saumangalya* (auspicious i.e., having their husbands alive). The *Gathasaptasati* thus calls bracelets *avidhavalakshna valaya* (bracelets indicating wife hood). In all the instances cited above necklaces, ear ornaments and bracelets or bangles denote the wedded state of the women wearing them—saumangalya—in Sanskrit literature of the Buddhist period. In Tamil literature of the same period i.e. Sangam Age, the same significance is ascribed to the above ornaments regarding the wedded state of the wearers. These parallels in Tamil literature of the same period cited below show that the above ornaments represented the wedded state of the women and their absence or removal their widowhood:

Instances in early Tamil Literature of Ornaments in General Representing the Wedded State of Women.

The generous king Ai gave all that he could to those who sought his aid. He then gave away all those things, The wives retained only those jewels that could not be given away. (These jewels could not be given away as they were the token of the Saumangalya of the wives).

A.N.N. 127

The king Valiyan Venman died in battle. His rightful women lamented his loss by tearing and throwing away her garland of flowers. (Here the wearing of flower garland constituted the sign of Saumangalya and their removal indicated widow-hood. This sign as a distinctive character of Saumangalya and its removal in widowhood has been in observance throughout the social history of South India and obtains even to this day.

A.N.N. 208

The poet Avur Mulangilar says that the generous chieftain who supported him died. His wife then had her head shaved assumed the apparel of widowhood and her ornaments removed.

P.N.N. 261

The Chola King Karikalan died; therefore his women (wives) removed their ornaments.

P.N.N. 224

The generous king Veliman died; his rightful women (wives) had their ornament removed.

P.N.N. 238

When Kannagi was widowed by the execution of her husband Kovalan she discarded her gold ornaments, broke her bracelets, in front of the temple of Durga and threw them away.

The above examples show that ornaments in general were the sign of saumangalya during the Sangam Age.

THE TALI IN PAINTINGS

In his paper on the Sigiriya Frescoes Raghavan says: "Ear ornaments are generally known by the name of Kundalas which are of different types. The simplest is crescent shaped in the form of a curved ring. "A common pattern is the roll of palm leaf which encircled the distended ear lobe, and are either of the same width as the rim of the lobe or slightly broader. In the Sigiriya frescose we have both the patterns, the curved rings form which seems to pull down the ear lobe with its weight, and the circular

FIG. 1. Kallar woman of Ramanathapuram. She has a tali of several twisted strands of horse hair besides other ornaments

Fig. 2. Panta Reddi women. The widow on the left is wearing a neck-band called kanti. The sumangali on the right has a cup-shaped tali.

Fig. 3. Cheruma girl with a necklace of amulets.

Fig. 4. Badaga girl with a necklace of kasus.

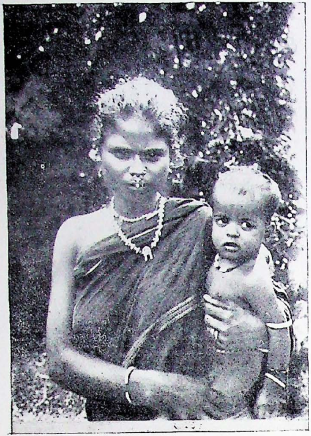

FIG. 5. Marava woman of Ramanathapuram wearing a string of beads with an amulet close around her neck and another string of beads hanging in front with a typical Tamil type of forked tali.

FIG. 6. Kolli Malayali women and children. All wear bottu talis.

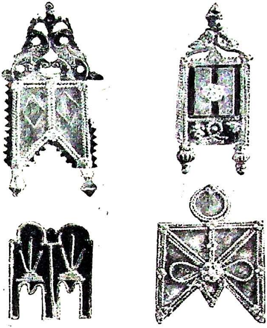

FIG. 7. Ornamental types of Tamil talis. The one with namams is of Vishnupāda type.

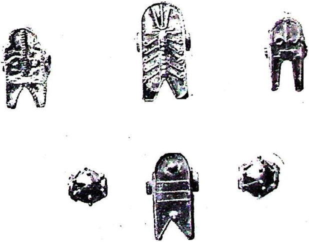

FIG. 8. Talis of Tamil type; symbols represent sun, moon, vibuti, namam, etc.

FIG. 9. Talis of Hindu women have various deities and symbols represented on them.

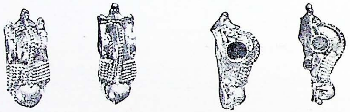

FIG. 10. Talis found in treasure trove hoards are small and occur in large numbers.

FIG. 11. The Talis used in Kerala are in relation to the Tali Kattū Kalyanam. They are all very small in size.

roll of palm leaf. The latter is called the *talapatra* considered very auspicious, as betokening a married lady. A development of the simple palm leaf gives us the same form made in gold in the form of a scroll, the *swarnapatra Kundala.* This latter is possibly the type seen in the Sigiriya frescoes. Of necklaces, we find as many as three, four or five adorning the figures the number varying in different figures. It is remarkable that almost every figure has first a necklet, a string on which is strung three beads,—one central bead escorted by one rather smaller bead on either side. This is the typical form of the *tali,* the marriage symbol of all Hindu women. The tali is a single bead, the shape of which varies according to the caste and the region. The commonest form is the circular or oval bead with two smaller beads, one on either side. Certain Hindu castes in Tinnevelly, use a flattened form with star shapped golden bead on either side, the whole necklet being termed, *chirakum taliyum,* or the wings and the tali. With some castes the tali takes a leaf pattern. The tali is worn on a cotton strand, sometimes on a double strand, as we notice in some of the Sigiriya figures. In only two of the Sigiriya figures, including the figure of the dark coloured maid, do we find this necklet. The tali is the unfailing symbol of a *Sumangali* living with her husband. If the beads were meant to serve a purely ornamental purpose, a full string of beads would obviously have graced the neck, as seen in the Ajanta frescoes, and not first three beads or a single one or double. The presence of what looks unmistakably like a tali, would raise a number of interesting side issues, such as the survival of the tali in Ceylon, a distinctly Hindu trait. The presence of the tali as a marriage symbol in Ceylon, would indeed seem to be strongly indicated by the custom in the wedding ceremonies of the Sinhalese, which goes by the name of *tali pili andavima* or the traditional custom of the bridegroom tying the male or the necklace round the neck of the bride, followed by the exchange of presents of wedding apparel. The simple tali would thus seem to have evolved in course of time into the more showy necklace.

The big gem set pandant in the necklace, and the gem set crown, are well matched by the solid broad bracelets set with big stones, which embellish the wrist in all the figures. Bracelets, as a decoration of the ladies symbolised the married status of the women and are indicative of a *sumangali.*

Raghavan says that the ear ornaments (talapatra and swarnakundala patra), the necklaces (tali) and the bracelets all indicate

the wedded state of the ladies wearing them. He also considers the tali as a distinctly Hindu trait and that the tali tying rite is a marriage rite of the Sinhalese. Literary evidences clearly show that ear ornaments and bracelets have been the symbols of a Sumangali (a woman in the wedded state) from the time of the Silapadigaram of the Second Century A.D. The tali at the same time has been represented throughout as an ornament. It came to be a symbol of the sumangali only in the 11th or 12th century. Again it is not the symbol of the wedded state of all Hindu women but only of most South Indian women Hindu, Muslim and Christian. The simple tali in course of time would have evolved into the more showy necklace. On the other hand a necklace of a large number of small beads would in course of time have evolved into a simple tali with one or two or three beads which is more probable as the few beads in the latter are larger and more ornamental. As in the case of sculptures mentioned above, representations in paintings of ornaments cannot be given their contemporary significance unless the same could be corroborated by historical evidence. The literary evidences cited in this connection would go to show that the tali acquired its significance as an emblem of the wedded state nearly a millennium after its appearance as an ornament. As such the ladies who are represented in the Sigiriya frescoes may have been sumangalis in their own right (if they had constituted the harem of Kasyapa the parricide) and not because they are wearing talis. Attributing sumangali status to them on account of their wearing ear ornaments and bangles, is more in accord with evidences from South Indian literature. (M.D.R. 1948, 68-70).

The word Tali is of Tamil Deviation

"Tali is a pure Tamil word. It means a pendant, Taludal is hanging. From that root "Talelo" is derived. When a child is dondled to rest in a craddle by means of a song (lullaby), the song so sung is called Talelo. In the kind of children's poems called *Pillai Tamil* the hero or heroine is depicted as a child and ten-tens are sung in praise of the hero or the heroine. Generally deities are the heroes. One of the tens is *Talapparuvam.* Therein the hero is dondled to rest. The burden of the song is Tale Talelo. Taludal means the swing of the cradle. Hence from olden days it has been used for swinging and Tali the verbal noun is the outcome of swinging as in the pendant. Hence it means an ornament swinging from the wearer's neck". *Meenakshi Ammai Pillai Tamil* and *Tiruchendur Pillai Tamil.*

The Ornaments used as Talis

The ornaments in general can be classified under three types. The bottu type of tali is common in Andhra, Kannada and Maharashtra. It is a hemispherical or conical cup or a flat disc and may have a central boss and sometimes a fringe of small beads. The forked type of Tamil tali is said to be a conventionalised form of the *pulippal* or tiger's teeth tali of the ancient Tamils. This may be square sided, rounded or flat. Another type of forked tali is met with as a single two pronged unit or a double three pronged unit which is said to be the conventionalised form of *Vishnu Pada*. Various symbols like the lingam, namam, vibuti the cross, sun, moon, tulasi plant, flower pots, are represented on the talis. The simplest type is the amulet or talisman type which consists of a cylinderical piece called tayittu found mostly among aboriginal peoples.

Summary

Literary evidence in Tamil literature of the Sangam Age and Sanskrit literature of the same period is clear in attributing saumangalya status to women waring ornaments in general. At the same time women and children were wearing talis as ornaments and these ornaments did not symbolise the wedded state till the 11th century. The rite of tali tying originated as an initiation rite as in the tali Kattu Kalyanam of Kerala, the Vilakkidu Kalyanam of the Karaikkattu Vellalas, the Niranja Kalyanam of the Irulas of Attappady, and the initiation ceremonies of Devadasis, Basavis and Matangis. All these initiations signified the attainment of sociological womanhood by the girl. With the prepuberty marriages of Brahmans and the highly Brahmanished castes the rite of initiation came to be merged into the marriage rite. Various stages of the development of the two rites are still evident as survivals in the initiation and marriage ceremonies of many of the castes and tribes of South India.

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CĀḶUKYAN TEMPLES OF SATYAVOLU*

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Satyavolu is a small village situated about four miles from Giddaluru, the headquarters of a taluk of that name, in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. To the east of the village is a square plot of land enclosed by a make-shift compound wall of stones, piled one over another. It contains a cluster of tiny temples[1] which are of great interest and importance to the student of antiquities.

In the northern part of this compound are to be found the temple of Bhīmalingēśvara, four other shrines, many miniature stone cut shrines and a few sculptures. In the centre is the temple of Rāmalingēśvara with four miniature stone cut shrines and nine sculptures round it (Fig. 1). To the south-west of this temple is a small apsidal shrine, another small shrine and many miniature stone cut shrines to its east.

The Bhīmalingēśvara temple

This temple (Fig. 2) consists of a *garbhagṛha* and an *antarāḷa* both of which stand on the same *adhiṣṭāna*. The garbhagṛha part of the *adhiṣṭāna* contains *upāna, paṭṭa, gaḷa, tripaṭṭa, kapōta* and *āliṅga*. The gaḷa is cut by short pilasters into five compartments, the two in the extremities containing the figure of a lion squatting and the head of a standing elephant and the central compartment containing the figure of a lion. The gaḷa of the antarāḷa part is divided into two compartments of which one has the head of a standing elephant. The kapōta is adorned with five *nāsikās* each with a human head inside.

* Contributed to the *Transactions of the Archaeological Society*.

1. These temples have been referred to on p. 4 of the *MER* for 1940-41 but a detailed report on them said to be found elsewhere in the report has not been included in it. I examined these temples in May, 1960 and photographed them. This article is based upon my notes taken *in situ*.

There is one *kōṣṭa* or niche in each of the three walls of the temple. The *kōṣṭa* in the northern wall, which is above the *sōmasūtra,* contains two pilasters with a plain *kapōta* above. Inside the *kōṣṭa* there is a figure of Durgā sculptured in half relief. Standing in *samabhaṅga* with the head of a lion behind, this deity has four hands. She holds *triśūla* and *cakra* in the two upper hands; the lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left in *karihasta.* She is adorned with *kirīṭa, graivēyakas,* a breast band and a girdle. The *kōṣṭa* in the western wall contains the figure of *Liṅgōdbhavamūrti.* The *kōṣṭa* in the southern wall contains a sculpture which is much worne out. Seated on a *siṁhāsana* with the nandi at the bottom right, this deity has four hands. He holds *pāśa* in the upper right hand, *aṅkuśa* in the upper left, *khaḍga* in the lower right and *akṣamālā* in the lower left. He is seated with the left leg bent at the knee and upraised and the right leg hanging. There is another sculpture on this wall representing two women and a running lion at the top and two more women seated below with parrots on their left hands.

There is a *kapōta* above the walls. That part of it which is above the walls of the garbhagṛha contains five *nāsikāṣ* with human heads inside, while the part above the *antarāḷa* has only one such *nāsikā.* There is a *paṭṭa* above the *kapōta* and a row of dwarfs in various poses. Above is the roof.

The entrance to the shrine is in the east. The doorway has three jambs with a seated deity at the base. The jambs are decorated with alternate vertical rows of lotus and *triratna* or *Śrīvatsa* symbols. At the base of the inner vertical shaft to the left is a *nāga* with five hoods and at the base of the shaft to the right a snake issuing out of it. The lintel contains the figure of Kubēra riding a man.

Above the *garbhagṛha* is a *dvitala vimāna* of the *Vēsara* order. Each face of the *vimāna* contains three projecting vertical bands with two recesses between them. The two bands on the sides contain from bottom to top a *nāsikā,* a double *nāsikā* and an *āmalaka* marking the end of one *tala.* The central band contains five vertical rows of *nāsikās* each with an *ardhanāsikā* on the sides. Above the bands are two flat steps with a big *nāsikā* in the centre of each. Above the steps is the *āmalaka-śikhara,* surmounted by the *kalaśa.* The *vimāna* has a *śukanāsikā* projecting from its base to the east. The base of this *śukanāsikā* is decorated on the sides with two *nāsikās,* one above the other, resting on two pilasters. The curved portion of the *śukanāsikā* on the sides is made of three

stone slabs placed one above the other and with a tapering block at the top. There are *makaramukhas* and dwarfs at the base of the pilasters. The front side of the *śukanāsikā* has, from bottom to top, a row of fifteen pilasters at the base, a *paṭṭa* ending in *makaramukhas* at each end and Gajalakṣmī in the centre with a lion on either side, a *grīva* cut into compartments by short pilasters, a *kapōta* with a lion standing on its hind legs at each end and two smaller *nāsikās* with human heads inside between the lions and a big slab with a circle inside containing the figure of *Śiva-Naṭarāja.* This slab forms the frontice piece of the *śukanāsikā.* This deity stands in *tribhaṅga* with the left leg bent at the knee and the right foot upraised. He has eight hands. The upper right hands hold *gadā, dhanus* and *nāga;* the upper left hands hold *paraśū, khēṭa* and *bāṇa;* the lower right is in *karihasta,* stretched across the chest and the lower left is in the same pose stretched to the left. There is a man to right playing the flute and another to left playing the *mṛdaṅga.*

The interior of the temple contains a narrow *antarāḷa* and *garbhagṛha* with a linga on vēdi inside.

The Rāmalingēśvara temple

This temple[2] consists of *garbhagṛha antarāḷa, mukhamaṇṭapa* and *mahāmaṇṭapa* (Fig. 3). The first three parts are raised on an *adhiṣṭāna* which contains *upāna, paṭṭa,* a moulding, *gaḷa,* another moulding, *tripaṭṭa* and *āliṅgapaṭṭikā.*

The walls of the *garbhagṛha* are plain except for a *kōṣṭa* on each. The *koṣṭas* on the western and northern walls are empty but that on the southern wall contains a peculiar sculpture. There are two deer at the bottom. Above them are two lions. Above the lions is a deity seated on *bhadrāsana* with the left leg bent at the knee and upraised and the right kept hanging. He has four hands. The upper right hand holds a flame, the upper left a *pāśa,* the lower right a spear and the lower left is kept in *tripatāka.* There is one empty *kōṣṭa* on each wall of the *antarāḷa* at the point of its junction with the walls of the *garbhagṛha.* There are three more *kōṣṭas* on the northern and southern walls, the central *kōṣṭa* having a perforated screen. The *kōṣṭa* to the west on the south wall has a fine sculpture of *Vṛṣavāhanamūrti.* Śiva is seated on the

2. Cf. Temple no. 9 in Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture,* Pl. xiv and xv.

bull holding triśūla in the right hand and keeping the left in *kaṭi-hasta*. He is adorned with *kirīṭamakuṭa, gravēyakas, udara-bandha, yajñojōpavīta* made of a stout string of pearls, girdle, *ardhō-ruka* and *makara-kuṇḍalas*. The *kōṣṭa* to the east on the same wall contains a figure much worne out. The deity represented by this figure stands in *samabhanga* holding an arrow in the right hand and *dhanus* in the left. Flames issue out of his body. He has *jaṭāmakuṭa graivēyakas, channavīra, udarabandha*, a girdle with the *siṁahlāṭa* buckle, *mēkhalā* and *pūrṇōruka*. There is a *kamaṇ-ḍalu* at the right bottom.

The *kapōta* above the walls is flat and not moulded and there is a flat *paṭṭa* above it.

The vimāna above the sanctum is a pyramidal structure each face of which is in three projecting vertical bands with two recesses in between them. It is surmounted by a big *āmala-ka-śikhara* with a stone *kalaśa* set up above it. A *śukanāsikā* projects from its base to the east and the face of this *śukanāsikā* contains a fronticepiece with the figure of the Naṭarāja.[3]

There is a *mahāmaṇṭapa* before the temple. This maṇṭapa is on an *adhiṣṭāna* which consists of a broad *upāna, gaḷa*, a broad *paṭṭa*, a *padma* moulding, another *gaḷa* cut into compartments by short pilasters and *ūrdhvapadma*. The compartments of the *gaḷa* contain, on the other side, the figures of lotuses, Śivā worship in various forms, sages, fighters, *mithuna* poses, animals etc. There is a low vēdi or parapet on the *adhiṣṭana* at the edges with short pillars above it. There are three entrance porches on the east, south and north. These short pillars have a rectangular base, an octagonal shaft above it, another rectangular part, a third rec-tangular part, a *paṭṭa* and the capital whose lower part has an angle of 45° like the capitals of the Cōḷa pillars. There are four pillars in the centre of the maṇṭapa each of which has *pāda* with a lion at its centre, a rectangular block, an octagonal shaft in two sections, another rectangular block with a swan or other figures on its faces, a *padma*, an open lotus, three *paṭṭas*, a *phalaka* with its ends hanging below and the capital with its brackets ending in a wide *pōtikā*.[4] These pillars are adorned with many sculp-tures of which the following are interesting. (1) Dēvī seated with

3. Cf. The *vimāna* of the Durgā temple. *Ibid.*, Pl. ix and of the Huch-chimalliguḍi. *Ibid.*, Pl. XII.
4. Cf. Capitals of the pillars in Konṭ-guḍi *Ibid.*, p. 25, fig. 7.

a human head and a boar at the bottom. She has four hands. The upper right holds triśūla, the upper left *ḍamaru,* the lower right *khaḍga* and the lower left a bowl (Fig. 4). (2) A man bearing a *kāvaḍi* on his shoulders with a man in one scale and a woman in another. (3) Two women doing the *kōlāṭa* dance. (4) A woman standing with a bow on the right shoulder stretching the right foot to the left from which a man is picking a thorn. (5) A celestial with beard worshipping a linga on vēdi. (6) Sūrya standing holding a lotus in each hand. (7) Two women and one man with one body. (8) Śiva as *Bhikṣāṭanamūrti.* He stands on *pādukas* with the right leg steady and the left slightly bent. He has four hands and holds triśūla in the upper right hand resting on the shoulders and *ḍamaru* in the upper left hand. The lower right hand is extended towards a deer standing at the right bottom and the lower left holds a bowl. (9) Brahmā with three heads, holding lotus in the two upper hands, *akṣamālā* in the lower right and *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower left. (10) Kannappa offering his eye to a linga on vēdi. (11) Śiva as Bhairava. (12) A man with an axe standing before a woman whose head is severd. (13) *Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti* (Fig. 5). *Lingōdbhavamūrti* with the swan above and the boar below and (15) A cow shedding milk over a linga on vēdi.

The front wall of the *mukhamaṇṭapa* situated behind the *mahāmaṇṭapa* has an entrance with a *kōṣṭa* on either side. The *kōṣṭa* to the south contains the figure of Indra with the *Airāvata* standing behind him. There are chauri bearers on either side above. The pilasters of this *kōṣṭa* are fluted. The *kōṣṭa* to the south also has a figure inside it but it is worne out. The jambs are plain and contain hooded nāgas at the base. The *paḍi* or the lower step has in its centre the figure of two snakes intertwined with seven hoods projecting above. The lintel has a figure which is worne out.

There are two dvārapālakas, one on each side of the entrance of the *antarāḷa.* The image to the right has the right hand in *kaṭihasta* and the left resting on a gadā entwined by a snake which stretches across his chest and lifts its head above his left shoulder. This dvārapāla wears a horned headdress. The other dvārapāla is similar but wears a plain *makuṭa.* There are four pillars in two rows of two each in this *antarāḷa.*

There are four pillars in the *garbhagṛha* with corresponding pilasters in the walls. Between the pillars is a low rectangular vēdi containing the linga of Rāmalingēśvara.

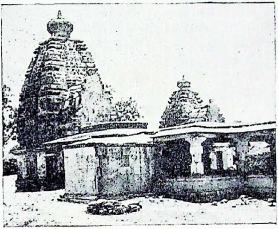

Fig. 1. The Shrines of Rāmalingēśvara and Bhīmalingēśvara

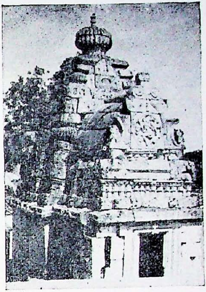

Fig. 2. Bhīmalingēśvara Temple Front View

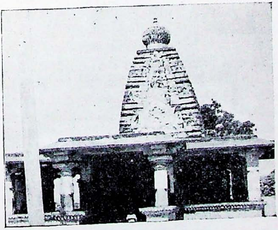

Fig. 3. Rāmalingēśvara Temple

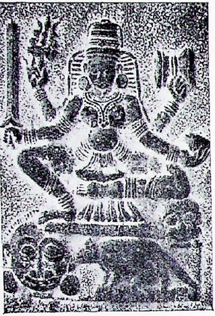

FIG. 4. Dēvī Sculpture on a Pillar in the Mahāmaṇṭapa of the Rāmalingēśvara Temple

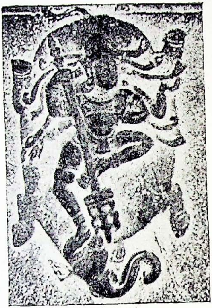

FIG. 5. Gajāsurasaṃhāramūrti on a Pillar in the Mahāmaṇṭapa of the Rāmalingēśvara Temple

FIG. 6. Smaller Vēsara Shrine

Fig. 7. Apsidal Shrine — Front View

Fig. 8. Apsidal Shrine — Back View

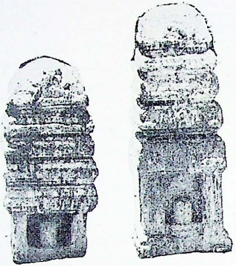

FIG. 9. Miniature Stone cut Shrines

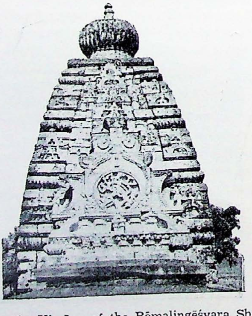

FIG. 10. Vimāna of the Rāmalingēśvara Shrine

Small Vēsara shrine

This shrine is to the east of the Bhīmalingēśvara temple (Fig. 6). Its *adhiṣṭāna* is very low and the walls above are plain. It has a flat *kapōta*. The *vimāna* consists of six steps decorated with a *nāsikā* in the centre having an *ardhanāsikā* on each side. Then there is a short *grīvā* surmounted by an *āmalakā-śikhara*. The *kalaśa* is missing. The entrance of the shrine has plain jambs and no lintel.[5]

Three more shrines

There is another small shrine to the west of the Bhīmalingeś-vara temple. It is similar to the shrine described above but its *śikhara* and *kalaśa* are missing. There is one ruined shrine to its south and another to the south-west of the apsidal shrine, also in ruins.

Apsidal shrine

This shrine of the *gajapṛṣṭa* type is to the south-east of the Rāmalingēśvara temple (Figs. 7 and 8). Its *adhiṣṭāna* consists of a narrow *upāna*, a moulding and a narrow *paṭṭa*. The walls are built of large blocks of cut stone. They are plain and without any decoration. The *vimāna* consists of two plain steps, a narrow *gaḷa* cut into compartments by short pilesters and an apsidal or gajapṛṣṭa type of *śikhara*. The front part contains a simple plain entrance with two jambs having a linga on vēdi at their base. There is no lintel. Above this is the gable arch with a double line edge decorated with rafter ends althrough.

Miniature shrines

There are sixteen miniature shrines cut out of stone within the temple compound. All of them have a linga on vēdi inside and are of varying sizes (Fig. 9). They fall into the following groups : —

1. Shrine with a *vimāna* of three steps and a *Nāgara-śikhara* adorned with a *nāsikā* on each face.

2. Shrine with a *vimāna* of three steps crowned by an *āmalaka-śikhara*.

3. Shrine with a *vimāna* of four steps crowned by a *Nāgara-śikhara*.

5. Cf. Subsidiary shrine of Huchchimalligudi. *Ibid.*, Pl. xii and temple no. 10, Pl. xix.

Date of the temples

The dates of these temples can be fixed with reasonable certainty. Inscriptions in characters of the eighth and ninth centuries are found on the outer side of the walls of the Rāmalingēśvara temple.[6] There is a record in characters of the seventh century on the wall of the apsidal shrine.[7] The *vimānas* of these temples (Fig. 10) resemble the *vimānas* of the *Mahānandīśvara* temple at Mahanandi, in the Kurnool district and of the Durga temple. Huchchimalligudi and temples nos. 9, 10 and 24 at Aihole and of the minor shrine near the Mahākūṭēśvara temple. The small shrine of four steps crowned by an *āmalaka-śikhara* resembles temple no. 10 at Aihole and the subsidiary shrine of the Huchchimalliguḍi.

The temples of Satyavolu may, therefore, be assigned to the seventh century A. D.

6. *MER* Nos. 460, 461 and 462 of 1940-41.

7. *MER* No. 465 of 1940-41. There is an inscription in 8th century A.D. characters on the same wall.

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

BY

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The last fifteen years constituted a remarkable and fruitful period in the history of Indian archaeology. Great enthusiasm was shown by a large number of Indian and foreign archaeologists in studying the cultural pattern of the sub-continent; a new phase of the copper age culture prevalent in Central and Western India, and co-terminous with the Deccan trap region was discovered; the new phase of the Harappan culture in and around Gujarat and extending upto Narmada-Tapti valleys in the south as also upto Dist. Meerut in Uttara Pradesh in the Yamuna valley is being intensively studied. This has become all the more important as the well known sites in the Indus Valley have fallen on the other side of our country's present political borders; in the field of stone age cultures and pleistocene chronology notable work has been done in studying the known cultures, bringing out some of their fresh phases and correlating their industries wherever possible with the Geological evidence available. Thus the period from 1945 to the present day is a very important one, though short, in the effort of placing our country on the Archaeological map of the world.

A previous number of this Journal (Archaeological Notes in the issue of the Transactions for 1956-57) has given its readers, a brief but authentic summary of the results achieved by the excavations carried out at a large number of sites in various parts of the country till 1956-57. Here is an attempt to present a bird's eye view report of the progress made in the field from that year to the present day.

Besides the work being done on a large scale by the Union Department of Archaeology whose sphere of activity is expanding and by whom new and praiseworthy schemes are being undertaken like the various Excavation Projects, village to village survey of the antiquarian remains in the country, opening of a series of Museums dealing with the history and culture of the

different regions, a large number of Universities and state departments of Archaeology and other institutions are evincing keen interest in this field. To mention a few important institutions of this kind we have the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, M. S. University of Baroda, Allahabad University, Calcutta University, Banaras University, Archaeological Departments of Andhra, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Madras, etc.

Palaeolithic Cultures

Notable progress was made in the field of Geochronological studies and their correlation with those of the archaeological culture sequences. A fossilized skull of the *Bos namadicus* species found at Kalegaon in the Godavari basin is ascribed to the mid-pleistocene and tools of series II were found embedded in the skull. A joint expedition by the Department of Archaeology, Geological Survey of India, the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, Poona and the M. S. University of Baroda tried to correlate the implementiferous terraces of the Banganga, a tributary of the Beas with the glacial and interglacial epochs of the pleistocene age and this will be of great use in further studies of the cultures in this region. The old stone age cultures of the Bombay region were found to be associated with river terraces which in turn, by future work, could be related to the ancient sea terraces.

The lime stone caves near Kurnool, famous for their Pleistocene human and mammalian fossil remains found in 1882 by Foote were, on re-examination, failed to yield any evidence of such antiquity, though the neighbouring region in the Galeru valley yielded a large quantity of lower Palaeolithic tools. Minor excavation in the river section of the Chambal stratigraphically established the co-occurrence of the Sohan and Madras traditions, an overlap between Series I and Series II industries; and when the Series I industry was dying out the flake industry of Levalloisian technique falling under Series II had come to stay. Further researches in the region confirmed these findings. The results of the explorations in Madhya Pradesh is noteworthy as some important facts were brought to light there. The pebble tools found in association with the Madrasian bifaces were not typologically related to the Early Sohan tools but indicatd a gradual evolution from the crude pebble tool to the skilled bifacial hand axe and this necessitates a review of our knowledge of the mutual relationship of the Sohan and the Madras cultures afresh. Most of these industries are found associated with river terraces. Nearby were found again

tools of the Madras tradition where the Sohan type of tools were conspicuously absent.

Further studies of the gravel formations in the terraces of the Narmada lead Dr. A. P. Khatri to arrive at conclusions somewhat different from those of De Terra on the subject. Fresh investigation by Khatri in the region of Hoshangabad and Narasinghpur resulted in the discovery of tools made by the block-on-block technique and illustrated the gradual evolution of the Handaxe from the pebble tools and these could be compared to the tools found in early levels of Olduvai Gorge in East Africa. The excavations at Nagarjunakonda showed the Palaeolithic tools stratigraphically below a pebbly stratum and a subsequent blade-flake industry on an earlier talus surface with a definite break between the earlier palaeolithic and later blade-flake industries in the region. A re-examination of the river terraces near Giddalur by Dr. Khatri made him believe in conclusions somewhat different from those of the earlier researchers. Fresh implementiferous deposits were located in the Tapti valley near Prakash where tools belonging mostly to Series II occurred in coarse gravel capped by a 30 feet deposit of gravel. Palaeoliths belonging to Series I were collected in the coarse pebbly conglomerate loosely cemented by gravelly matrix and separated from the riverbed by bed rock-a compact gravel bed and a fine yellow silt in the Godavari valley. Investigations in the Mirzapur region yielded seemingly upper palaeolithic tools along with fossilized bones. The caves here with implementiferous deposits contained wall paintings—one of which depicted an elephant hunt by a group of people and another a rhinoceros.

Recent explorations in Mayurbhanj revealed that tools of Series II, some of them exhibiting a greater microlithic tendency, occur, but so far no real microlith has been found in this region.

Apart from the above, collections were continued to be made from various localities in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

Microlithic Cultures

The excavations at Birbhanpur, a microlithic site on the river Damodar in Dist. Burdwan of West Bengal marks a milestone in the studies of the microlithic culture of our country. Very few

sites of this culture which can be dated to a great antiquity are found and studied in India and hence this industry not associated with pottery and associated with the penultimate terrace of the river Damodar is of great interest. The tools lie in a weathered sandy loam which rests on detrital laterite. It is a non-geometric industry the characteristic tool types being burins of various types, a few doubtful trapezes etc. Apart from this study at Birbhanpur and the discovery of a few caves and rock shelters yielding the microlithic tools of considerable antiquity not much progress was made in this phase of Indian archaeology during the period though stray collections, some of them apparently of a great antiquity but most of them of a relatively recent date, were made from different regions of the country from the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

Caves and Rock-shelters

Caves, rock-shelters and paintings, whose chronological context is very difficult to be ascertained—some of them date back to the late palaeolithic while others come down to the early historical periods—particularly those of the tribal regions which are left-overs or survivals present a very complicated problem to the archaeologists in India. The famous Billa Surgam caves in the lime stone region of Kurnool reported as early as 1882 where human and animal fossil remains associated with microlithic tools were found did not, on recent examination yield any object of such an early date which is another example of the spoilation time wreaks in the destiny of a country's archaeology.

A prehistoric cave, associated with early palaeolithic tools and pecked engravings, was found near Badami in the Mysore State. This cave also contains inscriptions of *circa* seventh century A.D. A large number of caves and rock-shelters with paintings and microliths, some of them not associated with pottery are reported in some parts of Madhya Pradesh particularly in the region of Bhopal and Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. Some of these sites had implementiferous deposits—the tools being of the late palaeolithic-cum-microlithic order. A large number of shelters in Dist. Mandasor contain paintings on walls and ceilings of the shelters depicting hunting scenes, yoked carts, besides other human and animal figures. They have yielded microliths also. A trial excavation at Mori, one of these sites yielded microliths associated with pottery. In front of some of these sites were found palaeolithic

and microlithic sites whose inter-relationship should be the subject of future investigations.

A large number of rock-shelters in Dist. Sehore in Madhya Pradesh contain paintings in red ochre depicting human and animal figures as also inscriptions often in Brahmi script of the early Christian centuries.

Dist. Sagar, also in Madhya Pradesh, revealed its share of rock-shelters, with paintings in red ochre, cream and white, showing hunting, horse riding, battle, dance, music and domestic scenes and animals along with a few engravings.

Neolithic Cultures

The excavations in some neolithic sites in Andhra Pradesh threw welcome light on some problems offered by this culture in India.

The digging at Utnoor in Dist. Mahbubnagar Andhra Pradesh, established clearly the desertion of the site in neolithic times and proved the neolithic character of the ash deposit or the cinder mound, a heap of burnt cow dung. Carbon 14 test yielded a date of 4150 ± 150 years or circa 2200 B.C. which incidentally shows that Wheeler's method of dating the neolithic culture in the South at Brahmagiri requires revision.

The excavations of the neolithic site in the Nagarjunakonda valley have thrown interesting light on the practice of constructing residential quarters—an oblong house with two pits—pit hearths, one of which yielded a few neolithic implements, microliths, potsherds and animal remains. An adjacent area with neolithic pits was dug. These pits were probably used as some sort of shelters as suggested by the occurrence of post-holes near the edges (the pit-dwellings of European neolithic times may be remembered here). One of these pits contained skeletal remains of a deer and two pots intact. The burials of the period, when opened, revealed extended but not properly articulated skeletons. The grave goods comprised of only pottery both hand made and wheel turned. Thus the evidence provided by these excavations throw welcome light on some important aspects of this culture.

The excavations at the neolithic site at the confluence of the rivers Kaveri and Kapila at T'Narasipur in Mysore yielded a large number of neolithic implements and typical neolithic pottery not associated with metal proving its true lithic economy. A neolithic

factory site with a very large quantity of implements in various stages of manufacture was found at Kothali in Dist. West Khandesh of Maharashtra.

Neolithic implements and the associated pottery were continued to be collected from the surface in various parts of the country notably in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Orissa and West Bengal.

Chalcolithic Cultures

Much cannot be said about the importance of the part played by the Harappan culture in the development of the later cultures of the subcontinent directly or indirectly and hence the need for a comprehensive study of the culture in its different aspects is essential. As a result of the partition of the country almost all the then well-known centres of this culture fell on the other side of our borders. This necessitated a vigorous search for the settlements of these people on this side of the borders. The location of this culture at Rupar and Kotla-nihang gave some consolation to the Indian archaeologists and historians but much was left to be desired. However, the discovery of a large settlement of the Harappans at Lothal near Ahmedabad goes a long way in making up for the loss of many sites of this culture. The excavations here revealed an urban culture with a systematic town planning with mud and burnt brick houses, provided with bath rooms, wells, drains etc., straight broad streets with lanes and by lanes. The residential structures were built on raised platforms as a safeguard against floods which often laid waste the township here. An enormous brick structure representing the dock-yard evidenced the commercial activities of these people at Lothal. Ships could enter the yard through a door on the eastern (sea) side; grooves for the sliding doors for regulating the water level were also noticed in the walls of the dockyard. The cemetery to the northwest of the mound was found to contain double or twin-burials, two bodies laid together in each pit in Phase I besides the normal single burials in other phases. It is to be noted that the twin-burials were devoid of any earthen ware. Another factor worthy of special mention in this context is the large occurrence of beads found here attesting to the skill of the local craftsmen in this field. Can the existence at the present time of the highly skilled and well known bead making industry from semi-precious stones at Cambay, very near this Harappan settlement, have any connection with this aspect of the Harappan culture at Lothal?

The other features of the culture revealed by the excavations at Lothal conform to the Harappan culture elsewhere in this part of the country. Of the five phases of the culture that occurred here, the last represents a transitional period while the other phases are the full-blooded Harappan. New developments and introductions into the cultural equipment like fresh ceramic types and wares and decorative motifs are observed though the earlier objects continued side by side.

Rojdi in Madhya Saurashtra, another late Harappan site in Gujarat, revealed a local phase of the culture in three phases. In the first phase, the houses were built of mud and mud bricks on low platforms to protect them from floods. Pottery was made of well lavigated clay with a red or buff slip of characteristic Harappan type, with very few paintings. Gold and copper besides stone, faience and terracotta were used for manufacturing tools and objects of decoration. A buff ware was introduced in the second phase though the earlier red ware continued. Houses were built of rubble and mud with lime plaster, and provided with rammed earth floors. The final phase had only rubble houses and the characteristic pottery was similar to that of Period II of Prabhas Patan. Through out the three phases occurred a crude corrugated pottery. A few sites in this region like Prabhas Patan (recently excavated), Rojdi etc. seem to be having a localised phase of the Harappan culture, though conforming to the Harappan culture of Gujarat in general.

Mehgam and Telod on the Narmada estuary are also late Harappan sites and on excavation, were found comparable to the II B of Rangpur culture. Hasanpur in Dist. Surat revealed a culture representing the transitional phase from the Harappan to the chalcolithic culture.

Bhagatrav represents the southernmost point of the hitherto known Harappan sites on the mouth of the River Tapti. The importance of this site besides being the southernmost, lies in the fact that it represents the early phase of the Harappan culture in Period IA while Period IB separated from the former by a gap, represents the late Harappan culture. This factor provides additional support to the theory already put forth, that the Harappans followed a maritime route and not a land route. (See *Indian Archaeology*, A Review, 1954-55, p. 59).

While Bhagatrav represents the southernmost known point of the Harappan culture, the site at Alamgirpur in Dist. Meerut,

Uttar Pradesh, takes this culture into the Ganga Yamuna doab in the east. The excavations have revealed a late Harappan phase *succeeded* by another culture using the Painted Grey Ware after a time lag. Though the discovery of this site did not make any contribution towards bridging the gap between the Harappan and Painted Grey Ware cultures, it enlarged the range of this early Indian Chalcolithic culture as also took back the early cultural history of this region considerably.

Chalcolithic Culture of Central and Western India

Vertical excavation in archaeology is desirable when the archaeological investigations in any country are in their infancy as they will provide an index to the sequence of cultures of the site and region under investigation. It will be useful to the extent of providing an outline of the cultures of the country in general as represented in that particular site. But when a certain amount of such preliminary knowledge is gathered, the archaeologist should aim at filling up of the outline with flesh and blood, so that a fuller picture of the whole is obtained. It is with this aim that the chalcolithic settlement at Navda Toli on the river Narmada was subjected to a large scale horizontal or area excavation.

The findings of the excavation here were interesting in that they provided evidence of the size of the settlement 800 feet north-south and 600 feet east-west with closely built houses, square oblong or round on plan, and narrow passages between them. The walls were made of closely laid series of wooden or bamboo posts, mud plastered on either side and washed with lime. Floors were made by spreading lime on black soil or yellow silt and probably the roofs were made of clay, bamboo matting etc. and supported by wooden posts. The knowledge of agriculture was evidenced by the occurrence of mace heads, and a large quantity of different varieties of charred grain. Contacts with Iran were shown by the occurrence of the channel-spouted ware in the latest levels which occurred in cemetery B at Sialk and dated circa 800-1000 B.C. and the fragmentary copper dagger or sword with a raised mid rib, the parallels for which occur nowhere in the Harappan culture but occur only in Iran and elsewhere.

The carbon dating points to the beginning of the second millenium B.C. as the starting and closing part of the second millenium B.C. as the closing dates for the chacolithic culture at Navda Toli.

Nevasa, another chalcolithic site on the Godavari previously excavated (during 1955-56) was subjected to an area excavation. The excavation revealed a typical chalcolithic culture. The houses had their walls made of grass mixed with clay, the roof being supported by wooden posts 3″ in diameter sunk into the ground and the floors were made of rammed lime or clay mixed with fine gravel or also by ramming of lumps of hydraulic lime. The ovens were made of raised bands of clay right on the floor of the house, the arms 8″ high and the distance between parallel arms being 2 feet. Storage jars were sunk into the floor of the houses. No details of the interior of the houses were available. A few pottery types indiacted the contacts with Central India. The funerary customs here agree closely with those found elsewhere in the region, but additional information was obtained here. In the case of adult burials and pits or under canopy, grave goods in the form of pottery and beads were found. The beads were made of shell, agate carnelian and copper. A necklace of eighteen barrel shaped copper beads was strung together on a white silk thread, evidence of the earliest use of silk in India. Interesting evidence on some other practices of these people relating to the disposal of the dead were also obtained.

The horizontal digging at Gilund near Udaipur in Rajasthan revealed a large settlement during the beginnings of the chalcolithic culture of Central and Western India. The culture here is characterised by the use of copper, microliths, painted black-and-red ware etc. Some of the ceramic industries in the later levels here are similar to those of the early levels at Navda Toli which has been dated by Carbon 14 test to the beginnings of second millenium B.C. and hence this culture at Gilund may be assigned to a period a few centuries before and after that date. The cultural equipment here consisted of besides, microliths and fragments of copper, rich variety of pottery, decorative objects, play things, lithic implements like saddle quern and rubbers, the harbingers of agriculture. The houses were built, as in other early Indian chalcolithic cultures, with mud-brick mud mortared walls, with clay lined pits, presumably used as ovens and huge pits lined with white clay mixed with sand, probably used for some kind of storage and later on, the walls were made of Kankar nodules and stone rubble, mud and burnt brick-bats. The roofs seem to have been made of rammed reddish earth with reeds and split bamboos supported probably by wooden posts sunk into the floor.

Excavations at Daimabad on the Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari near Ahmednagar in Maharashtra revealed full-fledged chalcolithic culture falling in line with the typical Narmada-Godavari chalcolithic complex and resembling Brahmagiri Phase I in certain characteristics.

Houses, circular or rectangular on plan, had their floors made of rammed clay mixed with husk and plastered with lime. The people practised extended burials oriented north-south without grave goods. During the later phases, there appears to have been the custom of placing the skeleton under a canopy on the ground instead of in a pit. Urn burials were practised only, it appears, for children. Often two or three urns were used for a single burial the urns being arranged flat, mouth to mouth and oriented north-south. Sometimes grave-goods in the form of a few pots were seen in these burials.

Excavations were also conducted at Bahurupa and Sawalda, situated on the north and south banks of the Tapti respectively near Prakash in the middle Tapti valley. The much disturbed site of Bahurupa, yielded the remains of the chalcolithic culture in its deposits of hardly one and a half feet thick and Sawalda revealed a chalcolithic deposit succeeded by the Northern Black Polished ware. The chalcolithic culture in these sites closely resembles the one at Prakash nearby (exavated in 1954-55).

Painted Grey Ware

Though no notable advance was made in the study of this phase of the Indian civilisation during the period under consideration, mention may be made of the location of this ware at Alamgirpur and Sravasti which represent a late and probably decadent phase of the Painted Grey Ware culture as iron was found in association with this ware here and also the occurrence of what appears to be an immediate predecessor of the Northern Black Polished ware at the latter site.

Megalithic Culture

The problem posed by the elusive megalithic culture to Indian Archaeology still remains far from giving a satisfactory solution. The small amount of data collected by a few excavations appears to go only some distance in the solution of the problem. The excavations at Nagarjunakonda relating to this culture is very interestirg and when a detailed report on them comes out, one may hope to find a new and probably an early phase of this culture

in the region, especially when one considers the chalcolithic burials of Bahal and Tekwada, the megalithic burials at Maski and Nagarjunakonda and those in the rest of South India in their proper contexts.

Two types of burials encountered here are the pit-circles and a crude type of slab cists. Besides the secondary burials, here are found the fully articulated extended burials and the former often yield evidence for multiple burials.

Further work at Kunnattur yielded interesting evidence which can provide some stratigraphic evidence for the dating of this. The earliest period encountered there in the habitation area was contemporary with the burials as it contained a few pits with the pottery of the megalithic burial complex and also black and-red ware, the typical megalithic pottery, formed an integral part of the cultural equipment of this period. The overlying period yielded a few coins and seals which can provide some sort of upper limit for the earlier culture.

The excavations at T'Narasipur in Dist. Mysore and Yelleswaram opposite Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh yielded evidence of the megalithic culture which conforms to the cultural pattern known to us from other places in South India.

The megaliths outside South India in the sub-continent call for some attention if some solution to the problem is to be achieved. In response to this call, excavations were under-taken in the megalithic area at Dhanora near Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. The digging revealed a fundamental variation of the megalithic culture here from that of South India in that it did not have iron and the typical megalithic Black-and-red pottery or, for that matter, any pottery. But the limited excavations and the apparent differences should not lead one to any hasty conclusion and further work in this direction is eagerly awaited.

Historical Archaeology

Good amount of work has been done in various parts of the country in studying the early history and new light is thrown on some of the problems awaiting solution besides bringing additional facts to light. Some of the important excavations are mentioned below:

Chandraketugarh in West Bengal revealed a culture dating from pre-Mauryan to post-Gupta times. A vast township was exposed with wooden and bamboo structures and tiled roofs. A

temple with a platform and vestibule containing some structure of an earlier period also, was laid bare. But the temple could not be associated with any particular cult or denomination.

The excavations at Sonepur in Dist. Gaya, Bihar indicated that the culture there may go back to 7th century B.C. or earlier and survived upto the 1st century B.C. It yielded interesting evidence on the funerary customs of the people. The post-cremation burial pits yielding large quantities of ashes contained coarse red, black and black-and-red wares. Iron was however, absent.

The digging at Vaisali near Patna showed a culture dating from the Sunga to the Gupta times. The city here had a fortification associated with a net work of brick structures and the entire occupation falling under three phases. Gold and silver objects, animal and human figurines in Mathura-Kushan style and beads of semi-precious stones, were among the cultural equipment. Northern Black Polished Ware was found in the earliest levels.

The excavations at Rajghat in Banaras on the banks of the R. Ganga revealed a succession of six cultural periods from 6th century B.C. to the 17th century A.D. It further established the existence of the holy city even during the Gupta times by the occurrence of a sealing inscribed in Gupta characters referring to the administration of the city of 'Baranasi' on the banks of the river 'Barna' a tributary of the Ganga.

The excavations at Sravasti in Uttar Pradesh revealed a sequence of two periods ranging from the second quarter of the first millenium to near about the beginnings of the Christian era. The ceramic ware consisted of a few sherds of Painted Grey Ware, the predecessor of, and also, the Northern Black Polished ware, Black-and-red ware and black ware the last of which was often painted. The other components of the culture were bangles, beads of semi-precious stones and terracotta, etc.

The excavation at Kausambi continued to attract the attention of the scholarly world on account of the identification of the site with that of the well known Buddhist Monastery of Ghoshitarama here as well as for the rich evidence it provides for the practice of Vedic rituals and the flood of light it throws on the early history and archaeology of this region.

The continued excavations at Ujjain, traditionally associated with Kalidasa and Vikramaditya, revealed a culture going back

to the 6th century B.C. Interesting evidence about the cultural equipment of the people, in different aspects of their everyday life, the methods they adopted for the defence of their city etc. have been brought to light. But nothing that can be definitely associated with Kalidasa or the Gupta emperors has been found in the excavations which only stresses the limitations of an archaeological excavation, more so when vertical digging is undertaken and the importance of literature and tradition to the history of a country. The evidence from the excavations may not however, be sufficient to arrive at the conclusion that Kalidasa had nothing to do with the town of Ujjain.

Jaugada in Orissa famous for its fourteen rock edicts of Asoka was excavated. It revealed a culture which definitely had its origin in the pre-Christian pre-Mauryan days and attained its best days and probably began to decline during the early Christian centuries.

The excavations at Ratnagiri near Cuttack in Orissa revealed that it was a flourishing Buddhist centre probably of early medieval times. Though no definite datable material was available from the excavations, the general similarities of the sculptures to those of the eighth to 13th centuries A.D. lead one to believe of a similar date to atleast one of the phases of this Buddhist stupa and associated monasteries. There is evidence also for earlier structures here. The stupa with numerous minor stupas, monasteries and shrines, all well planned and built and often renovated vouches for the flourishing condition of the Buddhist centre under the name of Ratnagiri as known from epigraphical data derived from the excavations. Lama Taranatha mentions Ratnagiri near the sea coast in Orissa as having been built in the time of Buddha Paksha (of unknown date and identity).

Excavations on the top of the Udayagiri hill (near Bhubanesvar) famous for the Hathigumpha cave inscription of Kharavela of Kalinga showed an apsidal lateritic structure which was probably a place of worship for the Jain saints living there. Incidentally this happens to be the first apsidal structure in Eastern India and according to the circumstantial evidence this may belong to the time of Kharavela himself.

The renewed excavations at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra, the well known Buddhist centre associated with the name of Nagarjuna, the Buddhist philosopher, revealed a rich culture under the Ikshvakus and later kings. Apart from the plentiful

evidence it yielded relating to Early Man during the prehistoric and protohistoric periods noticed earlier, some of the interesting facts brought to light by the excavations relate to the ritualistic edifices within the fortification, epigraphical records throwing light on the history of the Ikshvaku Kings, the Abhira interregnum in the Ikshvaku rule, the Pallava conquest of the Āndhrapatha, the problem of Saka Rudradaman II etc. The important position of the God Karttikeya in the religious practices of the Ikshvakus is attested to by the large number of Karttikeya images and temples both inside the citadel and on the river side. One should remember in this connection, the Chalukyas, successors of the Ikshavakus the venue of whose early activities in the east was undoubtedly Vijayapuri. Inside the citadel was recognised an Asvamedha complex. All the paraphernalia associated with the different components of the sacrifice were recognised which unequivocally attests to the performance of the sacrifice by the Ikshvakus. There is also inscriptional evidence for the existence of the setting up of hero-stones, commemoratory monuments for the 'rathikas' or the warriors who sacrificed themselves for the sake of their king. A cremation ground, presumably of the royal family, revealed the funerary practices of the period and there also appears to be some evidence for the practice of Sati. Neatly planned and well laid out city with wide roads, lanes and by-lanes, well built residential and military structures and temples with sanitary arrangements like soakage pits, drainage canals leading to the river nearby are seen. The eastern part in the fortification adjoining the Asvamedha complex appears to have been deliberately marked off for royal buildings. A big stadium or arena, enclosed on all sides with a flight of steps and a platform alround and a pavillion in the middle also exists. Foreign contacts are known to have existed as may be seen from the occurrence of Roman coins, amphorae etc. Among other things found here are a large number of Buddhist religious structures, temple, sculptures of various denominations, coins, terracotta seals and figurines etc. Thus, a rich culture of the early historical times is witnessed in this 'paradise of an archaeologist' which alas! is going under water for ever.

Yelleswaram, opposite to Nagarjunakonda in the same valley, yielded remains of a similar culture.

Ter near Osmanabad in Andhra, on excavation, yielded the remains of an iron age culture prevailing there from circa 4th century B.C. to 4th century A.D. Though closely similar to the cultural pattern of the region in the period, one special feature was

the occurrence of the terracotta figurines, some of them showing great artistic skill.

The excavations at the town mound at Broach, the well known ancient Bharukachcha revealed a succession of three cultures, the earliest of them dating back to 3rd century B.C. succeeded by another culture lasting probably form 2nd-3rd century to the 7th-8th century A.D. and the final culture belonged to medieval or later times.

Devnimori, situated on the river Meshvo, a tributary of the Sabarmati in Gujarat, is the site of the remains of a large Buddhist establishment. The stupa and the monastery dug up there revealed a richly decorated and elaborately carved stupa which, on stylistic, sculptural and numismatic grounds, can be dated from early 3rd century to 6th century A.D. A large number of stone images of the Buddha and Bodhisattva, mostly in Gandharan style, are found there.

Excavations inside the Chitor fort confirmed the popular belief that the Rajput ladies used to perform sati near the Mahasati temple during the medieval times. They exposed the occurence of 6″ thick-layer of ashes with a burnt mud floor. Nearby was a paved platform over which a sati stone stood and loose sati stones were found scatterd there.

Sporadic diggings at Sainthli, 20 miles east of Alwar in Rajasthan, revealed a beautiful but dilapidated Siva temple. A careful examination showed a good number of mutilated but highly decorated and finely made sculptures of many minor Saiva deities and a temple of Siva, wrongly ascribed by the local people, to the village goddess Sheetala. On stylistic grounds this temple complex is assigned to a date between 10th and 13th centuries A.D.

The excavation at Lal Kot and Quila Rai Pithora near Qutb Minar on the outskirts of Delhi evidenced the history of Delhi during the medieval period under the Rajputs and then the Muslim rulers.

A great part is played by inscriptions and coins in the reconstruction of the history of ancient India and considerable progress has been made in the epigraphical side also during the period under review with the discovery of many new inscriptions throwing new light on different periods and aspects of Indian history. The discoveries were many and varied. Many of the newly discovered inscriptions introduce new rulers who were unknown to us so far and some assign new dates to the already known kings.

One of the important discoveries of this period is a new rock edict of Asoka discovered near Kandahar in Afghanistan. There are two versions of the same edict, one in Greek and the other in Aramaic character. The inscription gives its date as 'when ten years of the king's reign has passed'. Another fragmentary inscription discovered from Amaravati in Andhra Pradesh on a stone pillar is probably a remnant of a new edict of Asoka. Palaeographically assignable to second or third century B.C. it suggests that the stupa of the place was originally built in the period to which the inscription belonged. From the traces of polish in the stone fragment and from the style similar to that found in the Asokan pillars it may be surmised that King Asoka himself was responsible for the construction of the stupa at Amaravati as well.

An inscription noticed on the pedestal of the Buddha in one of the caves at Ajanta is inscribed in box headed characters of the fifth century and helps in ascribing the cave to the Vakataka period. An inscription in characters of the early medieval period from Darbhanga gives the names of king Jivagupta and his father Ramagupta for the first time. An inscription written in the characters of the eleventh century belonging to the reign of King Bhojadeva of Paramara dynasty comes from Bhojpur in the Raisen District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription suggests that the village derived its name from King Bhojadeva (A.D. 1000-1055). An inscription belonging to the Rashtrakuta King Govinda III dated in Saka 727 (A.D. 805) gives an interesting account of the king having snatched away the *Chinhas* of thirteen rulers defeated by him. It is interesting to note that among the names of the defeated kings the name of Dharma of Vangāla also occurs. A record coming from Gaya in Bihar mentions the names of Mallikarjuna and Prataparudra and records that Gauri, the wife of Mallikarjuna, performed the *śrāddha* of her husband at Gaya. Evidently Prataparudra, occurring in the inscription is the king of the same name of the Kakatiya family (A.D. 1163-1195) and Mallikarjuna his preceptor. Another record in the same place says that a matha had been established at Gaya by a priest of the Hoysala king Vira-Narasimha for the use of the pilgrims visiting Gaya. Several inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings bearing the names of Krishnadevaraya and his successor Achyutaraya occur there. One of them records that a certain Timmananna performed the *śrāddha* of the Vajayanagar kings. These epigraphs bear evidence of the cultural contacts of the kings of South India with those ruling in the Gaya region and the rela-

tion between the kingdoms. The people from the South were allowed to establish their own mathas in the northern regions.

Much interesting and new information are borne out by the epigraphical discoveries in South India also. The inscriptions coming from different parts of the Deccan and South India bring to light new aspects of the South Indian history. The inscriptions of the Ikshvaku kings found in large numbers from the Nagarjunakonda excavations are helpful in the reconstruction of the history and chronology of the kings of that dynasty. They also throw light on the activities of the neighbouring kingdoms. For instance, besides the description of the erection of temples and *dhvajastambhas* and installation of the images of the Buddha they also contain the genealogy of the Ikshvaku kings and other details regarding their activities. All of them, three in number, are dated and fall between 273 and 334 A.D. The importance of these inscriptions lies in the fact that they suggest that the Abhiras created trouble in the reign of the Ikshvakus and that 'the Pallava conquest of Andhrapatha did not take place much earlier than the middle of the fourth century.' These records are among the earliest dated records so far discovered in South India.

The earliest inscription so far found in South India of Mohammed Bin Tughlaq dated in Saka 1248 (A.D. 1326) comes from the Kalyan Fort in Bidar District. It refers to the reinstallation of the god Madhukesvara at Kalyana. A Tamil inscription of the time of Anantavarmadeva (Chodaganga) of the Eastern Ganga family records a gift by some merchants of Malaimandalam to a temple in the vicinity of Visakapatnam showing thereby the contacts of the merchants of the western coast of South India with those of the Visakapatnam region.

The earliest copper plate inscription of the Pallavas of Kanchi, in Tamil script dated in the sixth regnal year of Simhavarman (circa A.D. 550-75) the father of Simhavishnu was discovered from Tanjavur. It records a gift of land to the Jaina saint Vajranandin of Paruttikkunru. An inscription dated in the fifteenth regnal year of the Yadava king Simhana refers to the Sinda family as his subordinate. The Sindas were formerly subordinates of the Hoysalas. An inscription found in the Tirunelveli district of a Pandya king Maran Chendan written in Tamil and Vatteluttu of about the seventh century is important as it is the earliest inscription of the Pandyas known so far. Several inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas, Kalachuris, Chalukyas and Hoysalas mention that

temples were built by the kings of these dynasties and several villages were given as gifts to them. In some cases gifts were made to individuals on certain occasions. It is on record that Muslim rulers made gifts to Hindu temples and installed images in them in the same way as Hindu kings rebuilt Muslim mosques. An inscription from Cambay mentions that the Chalukyan king Siddharaja Jayasimha (A.D. 1094-1144) rebuilt a mosque which had been demolished during communal disturbances. Some inscriptions have been noticed from outside India. One of them is from Arakan (Burma) of a Hindu king of the Chandra dynasty. It mentions the names of two kings, Nitichandra and Virachandra who flourished in the sixth century A.D.

The museums have also shown progress in their acquisition and were enriched by the addition to their collections of statues, images, copper plates, paintings and antiquities like terracotta plaques, beads of different materials, pottery, seals, sealings, and terracotta and stone figurines, all obtained from various excavations. Many of the museums have shown keen interest in the proper display of these antiquities and in the organisation of the galleries.

The numismatic sections of the museums all over India have been enriched with the addition of hundreds of coins in different metals issued by the kings and dynasties of different periods of Indian history.

The Temple Survey Project, both for the northern and southern regions, established by the Central department of Archaeology to undertake the systematic study of the temples, are making exhaustive survey of the temples of different periods.

The project for North India has completed the survey of almost all temples in the North which came into existence during the four centuries from A.D. 400-800. Starting from the earliest temples dating back to A.D. 400 with flat roofs and simple ornamentation, a complete study of their different local traits has been made. During the intensive operation interesting evidence is provided by the late temples linking the Gupta and Pratihara styles of temple architecture. A thorough and comparative study of the temples of different regions belonging to early and late Chalukyan Pratihara and Paramara periods have been completed. In this connection it may be pointed out that the groups of temples falling in the Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal regions of the Bijapur district, where both occur side by side, were studied jointly by both the projects, giving the result of the study as showing

the same source for both the northern and southern schools of architectural designs.

The Project for the south has gone into a detailed study of the temples in the southern region. Starting from the earliest temples that were introduced by the Pallavas of Kanchi, 'the inaugurators of stone architecture in the South', it has made a considerable progress in the field during the period under review. Making a thorough search for the cave temples of the Pallavas in the entire region, the project undertook a survey of other cave temples found in the south. During the study it was revealed that many of the caves to the north and south of the Pallava empire, which were of a contemporary date with the Pallavas, were proved to be non-Pallava in origin. These caves were hitherto attributed to the Pallavas. The study of the temples of the Pallavas in different types i.e., rock-cut cave temples, monolithic temples and structural temples in their chronological order has been done. The cave temples found to the south of the Pallava region are believed to have been excavated by the Muttaraiyars and Pandyas. These have been studied in detail in order to distinguish them from the earlier cave temples excavated by the Pallavas. These non-Pallava caves were found to have spread over the districts of Madurai, Tiruchirapalli part of Pudukottai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari and parts of the Kerala State. These have their own characteristic architectural details which distinguish them from the Pallava cave temples and show contemporaneity with the later examples of the Pallavas. The later cave temples of the extreme south also differ from the Pallava caves in their iconographic contents.

A careful study of the excavated temples at Nagarjunakonda shows that there were striking similarities between them and the early brick temples of the Ikshvakus as also the Buddhist shrines.

Among the important discoveries made during the period under review mention may be made of the discovery of a stone Buddha image from Sweden. Stylistically belonging to late Gandhara period it is seated in *Vajraparyankasana* on a *Visva Padma.* The right hand is in Varada mudra and the left holds the end of Sanghati. Pre and early Chalukyan temples were discovered in the districts of Sorath and Poona. Sculptures belonging to different periods were collected from Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and a bronze sculpture of Trivikrama of the early 10th century from the Coimbatore district. A brick stupa of the early historical period from Ter in Osmanabad district, Bombay

and stupas of mud bricks in the Darbhanga district were also noticed. A Vishnu image with four arms in black stone was found in the vicinity of the Qutb Minar in Delhi. It contained an inscription in Sanskrit below the feet giving the date (Samvat 1204 = A.D. 1144) of installation of the image by a merchant of Rohitaka. Gupta and post-Gupta remains were found at Chhapara and Parasora in Madhya Pradesh. A large Kalachuri temple at Piparia in Sagar district; a beautiful temple in Chalukyan style and eighteen Jaina Tirthankaras with enormous carvings belonging to early Hoysala period from Mysore were also discovered.

A large number of loose sculptures and terracotta figurines ranging from the Kushana period to the late 17th century were collected from different parts of the country. Among the Buddhist and Jaina caves discovered during the clearance operations in several places the following may be specially mentioned. The rock-cut caves at Pithalkhora in Aurangabad district (Maharashtra State) have the unique architectural features of the early Buddhist caves with carved Yaksha figures on the walls. The entrances of the chaitya and the vihara are guarded by the Yaksha figures on both sides. They have elaborate Sunga head dress. Ruined Buddhist caves comprising of chaityas and viharas were reported in the Bhandra hills in Poona district. Groups of Buddhist caves were also discovered at Khambhalida in Saurashtra with sculptures representing Bodhisattvas and devotees under the shelter of trees and having an apsidal stupa. The groups may be ascribed to the third-fourth centuries A.D. on the grounds of sculptural style. Groups of Jain caves were brought to light at Mohida Turf Haveli on the Gomai river in west Khandesh district. The caves have been excavated in the bed rock of the river. Since they are without roof, they usually remain filled with water and debris. The caves contain the images of the tirthankaras in niches.

The central department of Archaeology has started a School of Archaeology for training students in different branches of archaeology who after training could be entrusted with different aspects of archaeological work. It has provision for ten students for each session. Students from the neighbouring countries like Burma, Ceylon etc., are also admitted in the school.

A small organisation for the preparation of an archaeological atlas of India has also been set up by the department and the same has made sufficient progress.*

* The study is based largely on the publications of the Archaeological Survey of India.

PANDYA GENEALOGY AND SRI NAM-ALVAR *

By

RAO SAHIB PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

English Rendering by the Pandit's son,
M. R. Narayana Ayyangar

I had occasion to deal with Pāṇḍya genealogy in my book, *Āḻvārgaḷ Kāla Nilai* (*The Chronology of the Āḻvārs*), published two decades ago. The genealogy adopted in that work was based on the materials then available and to some extent on Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *Pandyan Kingdom*. Recently, Sri T. G. Aravamuthan sent me the typescript of a set of Notes bearing the common title, 'Early Pandya Chronology,' in which he had set out his view of the succession of the kings and of their periods. This has led me to a reconsideration of the problem. The sequence that I now adopt is incorporated in the accompanying Table. The point for consideration is whether Rajasimha II and Varaguna I may, with justice, be omitted between kings Nos. 2 and 3 in the genealogy I have adopted here.

PANDYA GENEALOGY

The clue to the correct genealogy lies in the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions of the Śinnamanūr Plates. The Sanskrit portion

Note :—This paper is the last of the productions of this great scholar.

Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, one of this scholar's śishyas, presented a paper, 'Early Pandya Chronology', to this Society in September 1958, and he had some remarks to make on the same topic at a meeting of the Society in October 1958. These, with further remarks, were put by him into a series of Notes which he privately circulated among scholars. One of the sets was submitted by him to the master, early in November 1958. Before the month had come to its close he heard from the Pandit that this paper had been completed. The Pandit passed away shortly after, in his 83rd year.

This paper happening to remain unpublished, Mr. Aravamuthan got it from his son and presented it at a meeting of this Society.

Mr. Aravamuthan's paper of September 1958 was itself based on the negative results he had reached in his long study of the problem and on the positive data furnished to him by Mr. T. N Subrahmanyam at the close of August 1958 from the Ukkirankottai Grant which he had by then come into possession of and had tentatively deciphered. Mr. Subrahmanyam, having magnanimously allowed Mr. Aravamuthan to present his paper first before the Society, followed with a paper on the Grant before the Society in October 1958.

* Paper read at the meeting of the Society on 3rd December, 1960.

EARLY PANDYA GENEALOGY: THREE SCHEMES

Pandit Raghava Ayyangar: Dates Unassigned (bracketed, 2–3)

Aravamuthan, Sinnamanur: Dates and Relationships Uncertain (bracketed, 590–710)

Pandit Raghava Ayyangar		Prof. Nilakanta Sastri	Date A.D.	ARAVAMUTHAN Velvikkudi	Sinnamanur	Ukkiran-K	Other	Notes	
		Kadum-Kon	590	Kadum-Kon					
			95						
			600						
			05						
			10						
			15						
		M. Avani-Chulamani	20	M. Avani-					
			625						
			30						
			35						
			40						
		Jayanta	45	Jayanta					
			650						
			55						
			60						
			65						
		M. Arikesari	70	Parankusa	M. Arikesari	..	..	674	Magadha Adityasena in Chola
			675						
			80						
			85						
			90						
			95						
			700						
			05						
		(S.Ko-) Sadaiyan	10	Ranadhira	Parantaka	..	..		
			15			..	..	715	Maharathas defd. at Mangalapura.
			20					720	Pal. Narasimha-v. II agt. Tibetans and Arabs.
			725						
			30					731–	Pallava Nandi-vs., two ?
			35						
M. Rajasimha I	1	M. Rajasimha I	40		M. Rajasimha	..	..	738	*Nam-Alvar*, birth
			45			..	..	?	Pallava-Malla defd. at (Kulumbur ?).
			750					?	*Tiru-Mangai-Alvar.*
			55					757	RK Dantidurga takes Kanchi.
N. S. Parantaka	2	N. S. Parantaka = Varaguna M.R.	60	N. S. Para-		-antaka	SV.	?	Pallava defd. at Pennagadam.
			65		Varaguna			765	Pallava and Chera defd.
			70					770	M. Kari carves out Anamalai Cave.
			775		M. Sri-Vallabha			?	Vishnu Temple at Kanchi-Vay-Perur
			80					777	Foundation of Sri-Vara-m.
			85					?	Maya-Pandya defeated.
M. Rajasimha II			90					?	Kalinga, Magadha, etc. defd.
			95					798	Simhala worsted for Dathasiva.
			800		S. Varaguna-v.	Ugra		800–15	*Manikya-Vachaka.*
			801			Parantaka VN.		800–25	Pallava Nandi-v. III, TE.
			05						
Varaguna I MR.		M. Sri-Vallabha	10					810	Vembil destroyed. Çamp, Araisur.
			15						
			20						
			825					825–66	Pallava Nrpatunga.
M. Sri-Vallabha	3		30					831–3	Simhala invaded for Mahinda.
			35					835	Simhala invaded, Nandi-v. TE. helping.
			40						
			45	843	Rajasimha SK- -	?		845	Vijayalaya begins his Chola line.
			850					?	Vanji set aflame.
			55					?	Naippur/Naval battle with Chola.
			60					857–61	Sena II takes Madurai for Pand. Prince.
Varaguna-v. II	4	Varaguna-v. 61/2	65				Varaguna (AM)	861–2	Sena II instals Varaguna.
			70						
			875						
Parantaka VN.	5	Parantaka VN.	80					879	Battle of Sri-Purambiyam.
			85						
			90						
			95						
		M. Rajasimha II	900						
			05						
			10						
			15						
M. Rajasimha III	6	923	20				Rajasimha (HP) Vira CA	?	Pandya and Simhala attack Chola.
			925						

Additions to Notes, at p. 108.

ABBREVIATIONS

(AM) Aivar-malai
J. Jatila; *Tam.* Śadaiyan
M. Māran
CA. Chola-antaka
MR. Mahā-Rājā
NS. Nedum-Śadaiyan
(HP) Hasti-v-PM
PM. Pallava-Malla
S. Śadaiyan; *Skt.*, Jatila
SK. Śri Kantha
SV. Śri-Vara
TE. Tellāru-Erinda
v. varman

says that Jaṭila-Varman (No. 2)[1] of my scheme is succeeded by his son Rājasimha and he by his son, 'wise' Varaguṇa of 'great prowess'. The Tamil portion of the Plates describes this Varaguṇa as Emperor, *kō*. His son is Śrī-Māṟan Śrī-Vallabha. We have here two kings, Rājasimha and Varaguṇa I.[2] We have to give a definite place to these kings in the Pandya genealogy between Parāntaka Nēḍum-Śaḍaiyan (No. 2) and Śrī-Māṟan Śrī-Vallabha (No. 3). This Varaguṇa I is Varaguṇa Mahārāja known to us by his many grants.

An important piece of information has been gleaned recently to settle when Varaguṇa I ruled. The Tirut-Tavat-Tuṟai (or, Lalgudi) inscriptions[3] reveal that this Varaguṇa Mahārāja was a contemporary of Pallava Nandivarman III (830-854). These inscriptions describe Varaguṇa Mahārāja as 'Pāṇḍya Kulapati'. In fact, the Maḷa-Koṅgu-Nāḍu[4] was renamed Pāṇḍya-kulapati-vaḷa-nāḍu after this title of his. In the fifth year of this king, Nandivarman III made a grant of property for charity with his consent.[5]

The son and successor of Varaguṇa I is Śrī-Māṟan Śrī Vallabha.[6] He is the Para-chakra Kolāhala of the Śinnamanur Plates. His son is Varaguṇa II. Inscriptions take special care to describe him as Varaguṇa-varman. His accession, according to the Aivarmalai inscription, is in 862 A.D.

An attempt has been made[7] to put down Varaguṇa I for a dummy, as a person who never reigned and as one who would not have come into our ken but for the accident of his being the father of Śrī-Māṟan Śrī-Vallabha. This view is not correct. This Varaguṇa I is no other than Varaguṇa Mahārāja. He is said to be one at whose ankled feet kings prostrate and he is also said to be an Emperor. This titulature appears to be correct, he having extended his dominion up to Toṇḍai-Nāḍu by conquest. Again, as noticed already, the suzerainty of Varaguṇa Mahārāja is recogniz-

1. The numerals similarly applied refer to the numeration of the succession as adopted in this paper.
2. See *SII.*, iii.
3. *EI.* xx, 52-4.
4. Now in the Trichinopoly district.
5. *E.I.* xx, 52 (No. A).
6. The Trichinopoly rock inscription mentions that the father, Varaguṇa Mahārāja, was 'Soma-Sūryānvaya Tilakarankaran', ornament of the family of both the moon and the sun: *Madras Epigraphy*: *Annual Report*, 1929-30, No. 275.
7. By T. G. Aravamuthan in the Notes already referred to.

ed by Nandivarman III as revealed by the Lalgudi inscription. Moreover, this Varaguṇa Mahārāja has the appellation Pāṇḍya-Kulapati, indicating his importance in the Pāṇḍya lineage.

Between the two definite dates in Pāṇḍya chronology that we know of, namely, 770 A.D. for Parāntaka Neḍum-Śaḍaiyaṉ (No. 2) and 862 A.D. for the accession of Varaguṇa II, the interval is ninety-two years. There has been an assumption that Śrī-Māṟaṉ Śrī-Vallabha was the only king who reigned and it has been attempted to allocate the period between Neḍum-Śaḍaiyaṉ (No. 2) and Śrī-Māṟaṉ Śrī-Vallabha (No. 3) by assuming long periods for their successive reigns. This assumption and this attempt turn out to be needless if we recognize Rājasimha II and Varaguṇa I as succeeding Parāntaka Neḍum-Śaḍaiyaṉ (No. 2). The period of ninety-two years is easily distributed among three kings.

DATE OF NAM-ALVAR

This leads us on to the age of Nam-Āḻvār. It is clear that Nam-Āḻvār who has sung hymns in praise of the shrine at Śrī-vara-maṅgalam founded by Parāntaka Neḍum-Śaḍaiyaṉ (No. 2) also known as Śrī-Vara, could not have lived earlier. Some scholars assign Sri Nam-Āḻvār's date to the reign of Varaguṇa at the close of the ninth century on two grounds. They are:

(a) Śrī Nam-Āḻvār and Śrī Nātha-Muni were in direct communion with each other.

(b) Śrī Nam-Āḻvār has sung hymns in praise of the Vishnu shrine at Varaguṇa-maṅgai. As that shrine should have been built by Varaguna he could not have lived earlier.

Against the first ground it is necessary to say that Śrī Nam-Āḻvār and Śrī Nātha-Muni were not contemporaries and that Śrī Nātha-Muni lived many years later is clear from the Guru-paramparais, as I have pointed out in my *Chronology of the Āḻvārs*.

With regard to the other point it has to be remembered that Varaguṇa II appears to be a staunch devotee of Śiva. Manikya-vachaka speaks of the deity of Chidambaram as 'He of Chit-Ambalam worshipped by Varaguna of the South.'[8] Paṭṭinattu-Aḍigaḷ, in the 11th Tirumuṟai, goes the extent of bracketing the names Peruntuṟai-Pillai, Śiva-Vākyar and Varaguṇa- Devar among the Saiva saints. So, it is difficult to agree that the Śrī Vargunamaṅgai shrine was built by Varaguṇa II, in the absence of substantial evidence. If the question of who the founder of the Vishnu shrine at Śrīvaraguṇa-mangai is posed, there is no

8. *Tiruk-Kōvai.*

doubt that as between Varaguṇa I and Varaguṇa II the choice will fall on Varaguṇa I, who is the grandson of the staunch Vaishnava king Neḍum-Śaḍaiyaṉ and whose munificence is known from his inscriptions. Moreover, Nātha-Muni and Varaguṇa II being of the same period, it is impossible to maintain that Śrī Nam-Āḷvār also lived at the same time.

Vijayanārayaṇam, near Nanguneri, is an ancient town with numerous inscriptions, in Vatteḷettu, of Śaḍaiyaṉ-Māraṉ. This King's name can refer to Rājasimha I or to his grand-son, Śrī-Māraṉ Śrī-Vallabha. This temple is called Varaguṇa-Viṇṇagaram in an inscription.[9] Varaguṇa-Viṇṇagaram means 'Shrine for Vishnu built by Varaguṇa'. The same temple is mentioned also as Śaṭakopa-Viṉ-Nagaram in an inscription.[10] The name Śaṭakopan is met with for the first time in this inscription. Now, the names Varaguṇa-Viṉ-Nagaram and Śaṭakopa-Viṉ-Nagaram, which refer to the same shrine, point to the founder bearing both the names Varaguṇa and Saṭakopa. More probable is it that the building of the temple was started in the life of Varaguṇa's father, Rājasimha II, but completed by Varaguṇa I himself. This may account for the temple being concurrently known by two names, Śaṭakopa-Viṉ-Nagaram and Varaguṇa-Viṉ-Nagaram. If this surmise is correct Varaguṇa I's father, Rājasimha II, who appears to have ruled only for a brief period, should have had the name Śaṭakopa also.

According to Śrī-Vaishnava literature, the name Śaṭakopa, in reference to Śrī Nam-Āḷvār, means 'one angry with Śaṭa (wind)'. The meaning of the same expression, with reference to a king, will thus be, 'one angry with the mischievous' (inimical kings).

We find a king Śaṭakopa connected with a temple Śaṭakopa-Viṉ-Nagaram which is also called Varaguṇa-Viṉ-Nagaram. We have seen that this king could be either Rājasimha II, or his son Varaguṇa I. If he is Rājasimha II, he is the son of Parāntaka Neḍum-Śadaiyaṉ (No. 2), the staunch Vaishnava of the Vēlvikuḍi Plates. By the rule of alternation in the titles of the Pandya Kings, this Rājasimha is a Māraṉ, being a Śaḍaiyaṉ's son. We may, therefore, infer his name to be Māraṉ-Śaṭakopaṉ. This is also the name by which Nam-Āḷvār calls himself in some places in his Tiru-Vāy-Moḷi. It is well known that chieftains in ancient times bore the name of their overlords and that they gave the

9. *Madras Epigraphy; Annual Report*, 1920, No. 2 of 1927.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 15-6 of 1927.

overlord's name to a child of theirs. So, the entire name Māraṉ-Śaṭakopaṉ could be the name given to Śrī Nam-Āḻvār by his parents in honour of the ruling king, Māraṉ Śaṭakopaṉ, that is, Rājasimha II. The impression that we have been under that in the name Māraṉ-Śaṭakopaṉ it is only the name Māraṉ that refers to the Pāṇḍya has to be revised. This Rājasimha II died after a brief but glorious rule. Śrī Nam-Āḻvār in his Tiru-Viruttam sings:

> The sun set as does an earthly sovereign who passes away after having ruled well and wisely and swayed the sceptre for a while.

Such a disappearance of a great king was obviously an event that was fresh in the mind of the poet. Apparently, the close of a good and great but brief reign, that of Rājasimha II, who died after a brief but glorious rule, was in his mind.

If, on the other hand, the founder of the Varaguṇa-Viṇ-Nagaram shrine is Varaguṇa I, he should have borne the title Śaṭakopa as the dāsya nama of Śrī Nam-Āḻvār.

Which of the alternatives is correct is what requires further evidence. It is clear, on the whole, that Śrī Nam-Āḻvār lived after Parāntaka Neḍum-Śaḍaiyaṉ (No. 1) and during the reigns of Rājasimha II and Varaguṇa I. His date may, therefore, be assigned to the closing decades of the eighth century and the opening decades of the ninth century A.D.[11]

Discussion

Having presented the paper, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan proceeded to state his views on it. The long period of ninety-two years assigned by Prof. Sastri to two kings had been cut down by Mr. Aravamuthan to a shorter period but Pandit Ayyangar assigned it to three kings. While Prof. Sastri's and Mr. Aravamuthan's schemes of genealogy had retained the sequences and the parallelisms in the Velvikudi and the Sinnamanur Plates, Pandit Ayyangar's scheme deviated from them. It was a good idea to assign the ninety-two years to three kings but no valid scheme of succession could be worked out. One test of a valid scheme is

11. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his *History of the Sri Vaishnavas*, states that the astronomical details supplied by the Guruparamparas yield 798 A.D. for Nam-Āḻvār. We are not in a position to know how this result was come to. This date, if correct, is however, an independent method of ascribing to Sri Nam-Āḻvār the date assigned here.

whether the all too clear identity of the Arikesaris of the two Plates is maintained, but Pandit Ayyangar's scheme gave it the go by. He has accepted 45 years for S. Parantaka VN.

The identity of King Saṭakopan with King Varaguṇa remains to be established on a reading of the texts of the relevant inscriptions. Assuming the identity to be beyond question, the solution offered by Pandit Ayyangar is worth considering, though both Vaishnava tradition and the occurrence of the name Māraṉ-Kāri in the Anamalai inscription which may be that of the father of Nam-Āḻvar who is Kāri-Māraṉ suggest that the approach should be cautious. The grant by Sri-Vara Parantaka of Srivaramangalam, with that as a new name given to it by him, does certainly suggest that Nam-Āḻvar cannot be earlier. Vaishnava tradition having greater value in religion than in history the problem of reconciling traditional dates with historical ones need not be a serious one. As against the date 798 A.D. accepted by Gopinatha Rao for Nam-Āḻvār's birth the date 738 A.D. appears to be justified by the revised chronology which Mr. Aravamuthan had put forward in September 1958. Nam-Āḻvār should, then, be taken to have lived long enough to have survived beyond the date of the grant of Śrī-Vara-Mangalam with its new name.

NOTE ON GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

By

T. G. Aravamuthan

Pandit Raghava Ayyangar's paper incorporates a Genealogical Tree. It is reproduced here with the two other systems of Genealogy and Chronology to which he has referred. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's scheme is in *J.I.H.* (1932) 11: 84-5. My scheme is from the Paper I read before this Society in September 1958: it has remained unpublished, both because the implications require a thorough reconsideration of succession and dating in other dynasties also and because the earlier history of the Pandyas is not free from conundrums.

According to me, schemes such as those of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, for these Pandyas, have an inherent weakness in that they give long and successive reigns covering 96 years (765-861 A.D.) to only two kings. While long reigns, especially consecutive ones,

tend to make subsequent reigns short and to favour succession of grandsons, throwing sons out of their heritage, these phenomena do not occur in the Pandya Genealogies so far in the field. We have a parallel in the long reigns of Pallava Nandivarman II, 62 years, and his son Dantivarman, 51 years, and the sequels in succession have long been crying aloud for study. The discovery of the Ukkirankottai Plates, assigning 45 years to S. Parantaka VN. necessitated an overdue revision. To retain Prof. Sastri's scheme for the Pandyas but to enlarge Parantaka VN's reign to 45 years is to bring his reign down to 925 A.D. and to push M. Rajasimha II lower down still, — unwarranted meddling with Chola history.

My scheme incorporates the sequels to the acceptance of Parantaka VN's reign being of 45 years length. A revision also of the long reigns covering 113 years allotted to Pallava Nandivarman II Pallavamalla and Dantivarman, father and son, has had to be suggested. Three inscriptions serving for Pandya-Pallava links suggest 800-825 for Nandivarman III TE and 825-866 A.D. for Nrpatunga as against the currently received 835-860 and 860-890.

Manikyavachaka's hymns on the deity at Chidambaram lauding him as Pandya render it improbable that he was contemporary of the Varaguna of 862 A.D. as the Cholas had, by 850 A.D., come to rule over the region round Chidambaram, the temple-city where their ancestors used to be crowned. He has had to be dated prior to 862 A.D. for atleast this reason. A Varaguna about 800 A.D. agrees admirably with an allusion in the new Plates which seems to be to Manikyavachaka being a contemporary of that Varaguna. So, Manikyavachaka may cover 800-815 A.D.

Pandit Raghava Ayyangar's exposition of his view of Sri Nam-Alvar's date makes it desirable for me to say that if my scheme is to be adopted, without reference to tradition, Nam-Alvar's hymn on the deity at Sri-Vara-mangalam cannot be earlier than 777 A.D.,which is the 17th year of the reign of NS. Parantaka SV when he made a grant of the village of Velangudi (now Nanguneri), renaming it Sri-Vara-mangalam, after his own title Sri-Vara. If Nam-Alvar has to be placed in this period, two years, 738 A.D. and 798 A.D., answer to the calendrical data given in the *Guru-paramparas* for his birth. The former date is a better fit. The Alvar, then, may have lived from 738 A.D. to at least 777 A.D.

The scheme I have suggested is quite tentative, clinching data being still wanting. The Notes in the Table are by me.

Additions by T. G. Aravamuthan to Notes in Table

674 A.D.—See my *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age,* (1925), pp. 31-3, fn.

770 A.D.—Māraṉ-Kāri, apparently Madhura Kavi, a Vaidya and minister, having died before the consecration of the shrine, his younger brother, Māraṉ-Eyiṉaṉ, successor as minister, had the consecration done. In Vaishnava tradition, Kāri-Māraṉ is the original name of Nam-Āḻvār, and Madhura-Kavi is the name of an Āḻvār who is senior contemporary and is of a different community.

775 A.D.—Kāñchi-Vāyp-Pērūr is in Tamil land, Kāñchi-Vāy, in Tamil, means 'Entrance, Gateway, to Kāñchī', famous south Indian city — that is, civil or military key to Kanchi. Pērūr, as compound word in Tamil, means 'Great Village/City', and, in time, it might have got fossilized into the name of a place irrespective of its size. Kanchi-Vayp-Perur may, thus, mean the great city or village serving as key to Kanchi or, in accordance with Tamil idiom, Pērūr adjacent to the key to Kanchi, and, so, marked off from other Pērūrs.

A Pallava of Kanchi, Nandi-v (c. 555 A.D.) made a grant of Kanchi-Vay(il), or (Skt.) Kāñchi-dvāra (*EI.* 3.144-7). Chola Parāntaka (Vira-nārāyaṇa), about 933 A.D. united Kanchi-Vayil, then known as Igaṉ-Maṟai-Maṅgalam, with Udayachandra-chatur-vedi-maṅgalam (*EI.* 3.144-7; *SII.* 2.365,382), it being added that Kanchi-dvara is to the north of Udaya-chandra-cvm (*Ib.* 372). It was known later as Udayēndu-m, (*EI.* 3.75,77) and is now known as Udayēndram. It stands just to the west of modern-day Vāṇiyambāḍi, N. Arcot District, with the R. Pālār running between.

Udayēndram was so named by Pallava Nandi-v.PM (c. 731-) after his general Udayachandra. Till then it had been known as Kumāramaṅgalam-Veḷḷaṭṭūr (*SII.* 2.372) About 922 A.D. Chola Parāntaka (Vīranārāyaṇa) granted the hamlet of Kaḍaikkōṭṭūr to Udayachandra-cvm and the two got clubbed into Vīranārāyanac-Chēri, after that king (*SII.* 2.381,388-9).

It is on a close study of this area, including, perhaps, that round about the near-by Viṉṉa-m., that we may decide on the precise location of Kanchi-Vayp-Perur and look for the remains of the temple to Vishnu which Pāṇḍya Parāntaka built.

For Kanchi-Vay to fall,—were it a fortified frontier post of the masters of Kanchi,—is to throw open the road to Kanchi for the forces of Koṅgu and beyond to march along the banks of the R. Pālār to Kanchi itself. Other routes to Kanchi from those regions are not practicable because of the intervening hills and jungle.

The Pērūr in the vicinity of Coimbatore is too far off to be Kanchi-Vayp-Perur as a frontier outpost defending Kanchi.

795 A.D.—The battle was at Kumbhakonam. The Māgadhas and the Kalingas are apparently referred to also as Northerners. Their companions in defeat included the Ganga, the Pallava and the Chola.

857/61 A.D.—This invasion came about through the Pandya Prince fleeing to Simhala for help. Attempts by Rajasimha at retaking Madurai failed and he died, in 861/2, of wounds in battles. The way became thus clear for Varaguna to be put in.

NEW BRONZE FINDS FROM TIRUVEṆKĀḌU*

BY

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The presiding deity of Tiruveṇkāḍu, who has the bull as his banner, is praised by the two great saints of Śaivism, namely, Tirunāvukkaraśu, familiary known as Appar and his younger contemporary, Tirujñānasambandar, in almost identical verses, which incidentally begin with an address to Lord Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara.

கண்காட்டு நுதலானுங் கனல்காட்டுங்கையானும்
பெண்காட்டு முருவானும் பிறைகாட்டுஞ்சடையானும்
பண்காட்டு மிசையானும் பயிர்காட்டும் புயலானும்
வெண்காட்டிலுறைவானும் விடைகாட்டுங் கொடியோனே.

(சம்பந்தர்)

கண்காட்டிப்படியாய தன்பத்தர்க்குக்
கண்காட்டி கண்ணில் நின்ற மணியொக்கும்
பெண்காட்டிப் பிறைச் சென்னிவைத்தான திரு
வெண்காட்டையடைந்து உய்ம்மட நெஞ்சமே.

(அப்பர்)

This conception of Ardhanārīśvara in the form of an elegant bronze was unearthed in the same village with a group of other bronzes and is now housed in the Madras Museum, which is verily a treasure house of bronzes. The addition of this figure to the collection has enriched the Madras Museum to a very considerable degree and provides an opportunity for the art connoisseur to study the best pieces of South Indian Art under one roof, for this figure is so exquisitely modelled and delicately finished that it rightly deserves a place in the list of such master pieces as Tiruvālankāḍu Naṭēśa, Rāma group from Vaḍakkupaṇaiyūr and other bronzes.

The *Bhagavatgītā*, in most emphatic terms, declares that *Purusha* and *Prakṛti* are eternal, without any beginning; none could have preceded or succeeded the other.

Paper read at the meeting of the Society on 12th December, 1960.

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्यानादि उभावपि ।

[गीता. 18—19

Only when the primordial matter and energy, *Purusha* and *Prakṛti* unite into one, there is creation. The *Purusha* is called *Māyin* and the *Prakṛti* is called *Māyā*, says the *Śvetāsvatāra Upanishad.*

मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ।
तस्यावयवभूतैःस्तु व्याप्तं सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥

[श्वेतश्वतारोपनिषद. ४—१०

When this *Purusha* and *Prakṛti* of the Sānkhyas, the *Brahman* and *Māyā* of the Vedāntins, Śiva and Śakti of the Śaivās, *Yôgēśvara* and *Yôgamāyā of* the *Gītā,* are inseparably united, the cosmos vibrate. The Śivapurāṇa states that Brahmā begot Prajāpatis and entrusted them with the creation of other beings, which they were unable to fulfil. Brahmā resorted to do penance towards Śiva, and on seeing Śiva, who appeared before him as Ardhanārīsvara, Brahmā realised his mistake of having forgotten the Śakti aspect, and sought the blessings of Śiva. The other story is that of Bhringī, a sage, who as a great devotee of Śiva, refused to pay obeisance to Pārvatī. Pārvatī was rather disturbed and became united with Śiva as Ardhanārī and offered difficulty to Bhringī in worshipping Śiva alone. But the sage took the form of a beetle, pierced a hole in the composite form of Śiva and circumambulated Śiva alone and this undisturbed devotion reconciled Pārvatī, who blessed him. Kālidāsa's invocatory verse in the *Raghuvamśa* and *Māṇikkavāchakar's* lyrical composition addressed to Ardhanārīsvara, too deserve mention here.

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

[रघुवंश-मङ्गलस्तुति

தோலுங்குழையுஞ்சுருள் தோடும்
பால் வெள்ளை நீறும் பசுஞ்சாந்தும் பைங்கிளியும்
சூலமும் தொக்கவளையுமுடைத்தொன்மைக்
கோலமே நோக்கி குளிர்ந்தூதாய் கோத்தும்பீ.

(மாணிக்கவாசகர்)

It will be of great interest, if the few well known sculptures of Ardhanārīsvara are mentioned here, before proceeding to treat this particular bronze. According to the *Āgamas,* the figure

of Ardhanārīsvara, may have two, three or four arms. The panel from the Bādāmi Cave[1] representing this theme is four armed, holding a *paraśu* and *nīlôtpalā* on the upper pair, while the lower pair holds a *vīṇā* and plays upon it. The Vṛshabha is seen on the back right of this figure. Bhringī is represented as an emaciated person. Except this and the unusual seated figures[2] of Rājaśimha Pallava's period, we do not come across, *vīṇā* being associated with Ardhanārīsvara. Slightly later in point of time, is the Ardhanārīsvara panel[3] of Elephanta which is also four armed, but does not hold a *vīṇā*. The upper pair of arms holds a *ṭankā* and a mirror while the lower right rests on *Vṛshabha*. The panel is broken below the waist with the result no idea could be formed of the position of the legs. But the figure of Elephanta is much more evolved and graceful than the Bādāmi figure.

Another and perhaps the earliest representation from South India, is the slim and elegant figure,[4] sculptured at the Eastern face of Dharmarājaratha, at Māmallapuram, holding with its upper pair of arms, a *paraśu* and flower. The lower pair is in *abhaya* and *lola* hasta poses. The vehicle of Śiva, which is the bull is conspicuous by its absence. The most graceful and elegant sculpture[5] is from the Nāgeśvara temple at Kumbakonam which is three armed. The lower right hand rests on the *vṛshbha* while the upper holds a *paraśu* and the only left hand holds a mirror. Another graceful and similar figure[6] is from Tiruvāṇḍār Kōil near Pondicherry, which is almost identical with the Kumbakonam sculpture, except in one aspect, that it holds a *nīlôtpala* in place of mirror in its left arm. The Ardhanārīsvara[7] from Dārāśuram is quite unsusal, for it has three heads and eight arms. All the above mentioned sculptures have the female half on their left side as enjoined in the *Āgamas* while in the figure[8] from Tiruvāḍi near Tanjore, the female half is represented on the right side.

1. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II. Pt. I, Pl. XLIV.
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. XL. VII.
3. Heimo Rau, *Die Kunst Indiens*, 95.
4. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Op. cit.*; Pl. XCV, Fig. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, Pl. XCV, Fig. 1.
6. P. Z. Pattabiramin, *Quarte Vieux temples Des environs de Pondichery*, Pl. XXXIV.
7. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVI, Fig. 2.
8. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Gods and Goddess*, Fig. 80.

Very few bronze figures of Ardhanārīsvara have been reported so far. The bronze figure from Thiruchengode is a comparatively modern bronze with two arms, holding a stick in its right arm and resting its left in *Kaṭyavalambita* posture. The hair is peculiarly treated and the bronze has all the rigidness of a modern bronze. Another[9] is from the Madras Museum which is a rather crude and half finished image with four arms. The upper right arm of this figure holds a *paraśu* and the lower holds a flower while on the lower left is seated a parrot.

No bronze figure of such singular grace and elegance has been reported as this Ardhanārīsvara. It is interesting to note, that this figure comes from the Tiruveṇkāḍu village, Siyāli Taluk, from where a group of rare bronzes which are now housed at the Tanjore Art Gallery were unearthed a few years ago.

This earlier find includes the most graceful Vṛshavāhaṇadēva (Fig. 1), Umāparamêsvarī (Fig. 2), Piccādêvar (Bhikshāṭaṇa) (Fig. 3), Bhairava (Fig. 4) and Kalyāṇasundara (Fig. 5).

This Ardhanārīsvara is three armed and resembles the Kumbakonam stone sculture, with the right half representing the male aspect and the left the female aspect. (Fig. 6). The right half of the figure is adorned with *jaṭāmakuṭa* with a tiny crescent moon and the right ear bears an elongated *Kuṇḍala*. The right upper arm holds a *paraśu* and the lower is bent to rest on the bull which is not represented. (Fig. 7). The right leg is slightly bent and is in the kuñchita pose. The female part of the head has its coiffure arranged as *Karaṇḍamakuṭa* and the left ear is adorned with *patrakuṇḍala* with a sprout appearing above that ear. The only left arm is in *Kaṭaka* posture to hold either a *nīlôtpala* or a mirror. (Fig. 8). The prominent breast and the graceful bend at the *trivalī,* perpetuate the loveliness of feminine beauty. The garment is taken below the knee and the *mêkhalā* is well-knit and porminent. (Fig. 9). The left leg is firmly placed on the pedestal. The entire figure is well ornamented with bracelets; *keyūrās Kaṅkaṇāś* etc. and the left half of the face is gracefully bent to the right. The figure closely follows the description given in the *Uttarakāmikāgama.*

9. Dr. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of Hindu Metal Images,* Pl. XX, Fig. 2. Also T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.,* Pl. XCVI.

उमार्धं वामभागं तु हरार्धं दक्षिणं वपुः ।
सजाटामकुटं दक्षं शश्यर्धाङ्कितमग्रजाः ॥
करण्डमकुटं वाममलकेन समन्वितम् ।
ललाटं दक्षिणे भागे नयनार्धेन संयुतम् ॥
पत्रं तु वामकर्णे स्याद्वालिकेनापि संयुतम् ।
सनक्रकुण्डलं सव्यं तं विना वाथकारयेत् ॥
सव्ये टङ्काभये हस्ते उत्पलं वामगे करे ।
उमाभागं स्तनोपेतं चित्रवस्त्रपरिच्छदम् ।
व्याघ्राजिनाम्बरं सव्यपादं कुंचितमिष्यते ॥

[उत्तरकामिकागमे पष्टितमपटले

It will be of great interest to compare this image of Ardhnārīśvara from Tiruvenkāḍu, with the graphic description of another Ardhanārīsvara bronze, decidedly of the same period, set up in the Tanjore temple during the reign of Rājarāja the great.

"The following copper image which had been set up in the temple of the lord Sri Rājarājeśvara until the twenty-ninth year of the king's reign by Narakkan Sri Krishna Rāman, *alias* the general (*Sēnāpatī*) Mummuḍi-Chōla brahmamārāyan, a *Perundāram* of the Lord Sri Rājarājadēvar (*and a native*) of Kêraḷāntaka-chaturvêdimangalam in Vênāḍu (*a subdivision*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār Vaḷanāḍu, was engraved on stone, after it had been measured by the cubit measure (*preserved*) in the temple.

One solid image of Ardhanārīsvara (*measuring*) three quarters of a (*muṛam*) and one *viral* in height from the feet to the hair. The Īśvara half had two divine arms; the Uma, half, had one divine arm and its copper was covered with brass. One lotus on which this (*image*) stood, set with Jewels (*and measuring*) two *viral* and a half in height. One pedestal on which this (*image*) stood, (measuring) three quarters (*of a muṛam*), two *viral* and two *toḷai* in length, ten *viral* and a half in breadth, and five *viṛal* in height. One solid aureola, covering this (*image and measuring*) two *muṛam* and a half and two *viṛal* in circumference."[10]

From the foregoing, it is evident that the Tanjore-figure also had only three arms, like the Tiruvenkāḍu figure. There is another stone figure of Ardhanārīśvara, in one of the niches of

10 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 39.

the north wall of the central shrine of the same temple and in this figure also, the Īśvara half has two arms while the Umā half has only one arm. Further a bull is represented behind the lord in the stone sculpture. But the inscription relating to the setting up of bronze Ardhanārīśvara at Tanjore does not mention any bull. Evidently the bull was not presented along with this figure, for Rājarāja, invariably mentions all the associate figures of a particular icon, set up during his reign. Thus when a Vṛshavāhaṇadêva, with Umāparameśvarī was set up during his reign, a bull was also represented in the group.[11] However on the evidence of the Ardhanārīsvara from Tiruveṇkāḍu, we may assume, that the Tanjore bronze figure, might have resembled the Tiruveṇkāḍu figure in all aspects, and its lower right arm also must have been in the pose of resting on the head of vṛshabha. Another interesting and most valuable information, that is learnt from this inscription is that the left half of the figure was gilded with brass. The Tiruveṇkāḍu figure differs from the Tanjore bronze, in as much as there is no brass gilding in the left side.

The similarity in treatment of the figures now housed at the Tanjore Art Gallery and this figure, is almost striking. The *Jaṭāmakuṭa* of this figure closely resembles the *jaṭāmakuṭa* of Kalyāṇasundara. (Fig. 5). The right arm which is bent and is in the posture of resting on vṛshabha is like the graceful *Vṛshabāndika* figure. (Fig. 1). The left arm in the *kaṭaka* posture and the drapery resemble that of *Svayamvarā* or Pārvatī figure in the Kalyāṇasundara group. The *Keyūra* is more akin to the figure of the Bhikshāṭana figure (Fig. 3).

It is most interesting to note here that,[12] three of the Tanjore Art Gallery figures bear inscriptional reference, regarding their date of setting in the temple; and it is of great importance for very few South Indian bronzes have been so far dated with precision. The exceptionally beautiful and extraordinarily graceful figure of Vṛshabhāntika of the Tanjore Art Gallery was set up during the 26th regnal year of Rājarāja the great, who was responsible for building the most stupendous temple at Tanjore. The accompanying figure of Umā was set up during the next year. The Bhikshāṭana which is also now housed at the Tanjore Art

11. *Ibid.*, No. 46.

12. T. N. Ramachandran, *Lalit Kala*, No. 3.

Gallery was set up during Rājendra's time. The following inscriptions throw welcome light on some of the important bronzes. Inscription 444, copied during 1918, by the Government epigraphist from Tiruveṇkāḍu, records the gift of an image of Chandraśēkharadêva, made of gold and silver by Śembian mādêvī, the queen of Gaṇḍarādityadēva and mother of Uttama Chōḷa. The inscription is dated in the 6th regnal year of Rājakēsari *alias* Rājarāja. Unfortunately the figure has not been unearthed so far. Another inscription[13] from the same temple records that during the 26th year of Rājakēsari *alias* Rājarāja, a gift of money was made for the offering and jewels of Vṛshabhavāhaṇadêva (Fig. 1) set up in the temple by Kôlakkāvan. During the 27th year of the same king a copper image[14] of goddess (Fig. 2) to Vṛshabhavāhaṇadêva was set up by some persons. It is certain that Vṛshabhavāhaṇa and Pārvatī of the Tanjore Art Gallery were set up between 1101 and 1012 A.D.

There is another inscription[15] in the same temple, which records that during the 30th year of Rājakēsari *alias* Udayār Rājādhirāja dêva, Ambalan Śeyavāyar set up the image of Piccā dêvar, (Bhikshāṭana) (Fig. 3) gave lands for its requirements, presented gold and silver ornaments and obtained lands for the temple from the king's father "who was pleased to take *purvadesam, Gangai* and *Kiḍāram.*" During the 27th year of the above king, gift of silver and gold ornaments were made by the same person Ambalan Śeyyavāyar to Piccādêvar.[16] There is an obvious mistake in the inscription for according to the reading, the image is said to have been set up during the 30th year of the reign while the gift etc., were made during the 27th year itself. However the image was set up during the reign of Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja and since the inscription mentions the king's father, who was pleased to take *pūrvadeṣa, Gangai* and *Kidāram,* he is certainly the son of Rājendra I who led a successful expedition to the Gangetic plain. Rājādhirāja, was appointed *yuvarāja,* very early in Rājendra's rule and this has been fixed as 15th March, 1018 A.D. Then the Bhikshāṭaṇa may be safely assigned to about 1045 A.D. It is quite possible that the same *sthapati* who

13. *Annual Report on Epigraphy,* 456 of 1918.
14. *Ibid.,* 457 of 1918.
15. *Ibid.,* 450 of 1918.
16. *Ibid.,* 401 of 1918.

made the immortal Vṛshabhāntika figure, might have made this also, for there is only a difference of 35 years between the setting up of Vṛshavāhaṇa and Bhikshāṭaṇa.

During the 15th regnal year of Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājarājadēva,[17] a gift of land for offerings, flower gardens, etc., to the image of *Devarganāyakadēva* in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu is registered by the assembly of Kaliyugakanna Chaturvedi mangalam in Adiyamangai Nāḍu. The 8th year of Rājādhirājadēva[18] registers a gift of money to meet certain expenses, as burning lamps, reciting vedas, etc. by several individuals during the procession of the god *Devarganāyaka*. There seems to be a slight error committed either by the scribe or in reading the inscription for *Devarganāyaka* means nothing. If it could be taken to read as *Devyardhanāyaka*, then we may take it to refer to this Ardhanārīsvara bronze. In some of the inscriptions, we meet with the word *Devargalnāyaka* and it is just possible that the 'l' is missing in these inscriptions. In that case the omission of the 'l' in both the inscriptions has to be accounted for. However, there is a specific reference to this Ardhanārīśvara in an inscription[19] which is dated in the 29th year of Rājadēsari Rājādhirāja, which states that a gift of land was made by the king, seated on the flight of steps in the north of Gangaikoṇḍa Chōḷan Māḷigai, inside the palace in Gangaikonda solapuram, for offerings to Ardhanāri dêva in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu Uḍaiyār, given as dēvadāna. So it is certain that this figure was in worship prior to the 29th year of Rājādhirāja (1047 A.D.). The name of the person responsible for setting up this image in the temple of Tiruveṇkāḍu udaiyār, is recorded as *Tuppayan uttamachlī*.

> "நாங்கூர் நாட்டு நாங்கூர் திருவெண்காடு உடையார்
> கோயிலில் துப்பயந் உத்தமச் சோழி எழுந்தளுவித்த
> அர்த்தநாரி தேவர்கு வேண்டும் நி வந்தங்களுக்கு
> யாண்டு உ௰கூ ஆவது முதல் ஆண்டாண்டுதோறும் நிற்றிறையாய்
> இறுப்பதாக தெவதாநமாக வரியிலிட்டுக் குடுத்தது."

The Somāskanda group (Fig. 10) unearthed along with this figure is again a delightful group, with full of animation, majesty

17. *Ibid.*, 470 of 1918.

18. *Ibid.*, 502 of 1918.

19. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Vol. I, p. 576; *A.R.E.* 114 of 1896; *S.I.I.* Vol. V. 978.

and elegance. Śiva, the father of the universe, is seated with an imposing majesty resting his left leg on the pedestal and allowing the right leg to hang. वामाङ्घ्रिं शाययेत् पीठे दक्षिणाङ्घ्रिं तु लम्बयेत् । The lord is four armed, holding the *paraśu* and *mṛga* in his upper pair of arms, the *paraśu* being broken and missing. The कर्तरी हस्तौ or the upper arms are in level with the shoulder—*hikka sūtra.* The lower right arm is in *abhaya* pose while the left is in *kaṭaka* pose, resembling *simhakarṇa,* कटकं सिंहकर्णवत् The *Kaṭakavalaya,* the armlets, called (पराजित) Parājita is well treated. The upper armlet (the *keyūra*) is decorated with the design called पत्रपूरिम or the leaf motif. दुकूलवासाः or the silk garment of the Lord, is exquisitely designed, with well treated folds. The face is full of divine contemplation. The *jaṭāmakuṭa,* adds charm to the face, by just being the size of the face with a ललाटपट्ट or face band, receding harmoniously into a conical shaped *makuṭa*.

.........ललाटपट्ट संयुतम् ।
मुखान्तसदृशं विप्र मकुटमूल विशालकम् ॥

The whole figure is vigorously treated with rajasic quality. On the left of Śiva, is Pārvatī seated, with two arms, देवस्य वामभागे तु पार्वतीं च सुखासनां the right leg of the dēvī is placed on the pedestal, while the left hangs. The right arm is in the *kaṭaka* pose to hold a *nilôtpala* and the left is in *varada* pose. The silken garment is also treated with the folds. The well-treated breasts, the smiles, the charming face, bearing on its eye-brows the sacred motherhood, make this devi the most superb specimen of South Indian art. The delightful, rather bashful face of this young mother, slightly turned towards the lord (Āgamas do prescribe such a portrayal) at once reminds us of Kālidāsa's immortal portrayal of Sudakshiṇā, the wife of Dilīpa, on the birth of Raghu. "Like the affection of the Chakravāka birds, the love of Dilīpa and Sudakshiṇā, grew in leaps and bounds towards each other, though there is now the son to partake of it",

रथाङ्गनाम्नोरिव भावबन्धनं बभूव यत् प्रेम परस्पराश्रयम् ।
विभक्तमप्येकसुतेन तत्तयोः परस्परस्योपरि पर्यचीयत ॥

Raghuvamśa—3-24

Whom does the great poet cite as an example? He cites only Somāskanda as an example of this. In the previous verse of the

same sarga the poet says "Like Śiva and Uma, they delighted in the company of each other".

उमावृषाङ्कौ शरजन्मना यथा यथा जयन्तेन शचीपुरन्दरौ ।
तथा नृपः सा च सुतेन मागधी ननन्दतुः तत् सदृशेन तत्समौ ॥

Raghuvamśa—3-23

The Dēvi is no more that Pārvati who when her marriage was proposed with Śiva, stood by the side of her father with her face flooded with bashfulness and looking down counting the lotus petals.

एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
लीलाकमलपत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥

Kumārasambhava

But she is now a happy mother, looking at her lord with full, of affection and love.

In between this divine pair stands the little Skanda with two arms; the quarters alone are his dress; he is a little child, with his left hand in *lola hasta* and the right in *sūchi hasta*. The figure is delineated with all boyish prangs. The whole group is mounted on a *bhadrasana*. If any convincing proof as to its age is required reference may be made to the *jaṭāmakuṭā* of Śiva in this group and the jaṭāmakuṭa of Śiva represented in Kalyāṇasundara group of bronzes, also unearthed at Tiruveṇkāḍu and now housed at the Tanjore Art Gallery. They are almost identical and if the suggestion is accepted both the earlier and later finds of bronzes from Tiruveṇkāḍu come from one and the same master *sthapati*, whose name will remain anonymous for ever.

There are altogether three Pārvatī figures (Fig. 11 & 12) two in the standing posture and one seated. One standing Pārvatī figure, is the consort of Naṭarāja, which was also unearthed along with this group, while the other two were most probably, set up as consorts of other icons, which have not been recovered so far. The seated figure is probably a Umā in an Umā Sahita group. These bronzes are also in the same best traditions, as the other figures.

The Naṭarāja figure (Fig. 13) unearthed with these figures is the most important find for more than one reason. The figure like any another Naṭarāja, is dancing on *Muyalaka*, on a *Padmāsana*

over a *bhadrapīṭa,* with lugs on either side to receive the *tiruvāśi.* The upper right arm is slightly above the right shoulder, probably because, in the rhyhm of the dance, it assumes this position. The dance is so charming and fascinating that even the Muyalaka at the foot of the lord, though being crushed, looks up to the lifted *pāda* of the lord, with dismay and wonder. Out of all the dwarf figures, so far known to us, this seems to be the most suggestive and impressive figure. The Jaṭāmakuṭa of Naṭarāja is intricately chistled, but is to a certain degree, disproportionately long. However one thing that is very striking, is the treatment of *jaṭās.* The flowing *jaṭās* on either side are connected with each other, with some semicircular motiffs, and what is more, they are nine in number. During the reign of Rājarāja the great, a copper image of Naṭarāja was set up at the Tanjore Temple, wherein the figure is said to have had nine flowing *jaṭās.* It will therefore be interesting here to note the description of the Naṭarāja set up in the Tanjore Temple.

"The following copper images were set up in the temple of the Lord Sri Rājarājēsvara, until the 29th year of the King's reign by Soṛamādēviar, the consort of our lord, Sri Rājarājadēva. One solid image of Āḍavallār, having four divine arms, the goddess Gangābhaṭṭāraki on the braided hair, nine braids of hair (Jatā), and seven flower garlands (*pūmālai*) and measuring together with the image of Musalagan, who was lying on the ground, three quarters and one eighth of a *muṛam* in height from the feet to the hair".[20]

Turning to the present figure, it may be observed, that the general character of Naṭarāja icons, during the reign of Rājarāja the Great, was akin to the Naṭarāja from Tiruveṇkāḍu. An inscription in the Tiruveṇkāḍu temple states that during the 28th regnal year of Rājakêsarivarman alias Rājarāja a gift of gold offerings, was made to the idol of Āḍavallār, by Kūttanvirāṇiar, a queen of the king".[21] It is likely, that the reference in this case, is to the present figure and this figure might be ranked with the few early dated bronzes of South India.

Another interesting figure coming from Tiruveṇkāḍu, is the seated figure of Caṇḍikēsvara (Fig. 14) with two arms. The left

20. *S.I.I.* Vol. II, No. 42.
21. *A.R.E.* 449 of 19[illegible]. 8

leg of the figure is bent and rested on a pedestal and the right leg hangs down, into the *Pāda* supported by a realistically treated lotus. The right leg was probably broken below the ankle even during the time of its manufacture, for signs of welding could be noticed around the portion and the lotus flower was probably introduced to act as an additional support. The right arm of the figure is in *Kaṭaka* Pose to hold the *Paraśu* and the left is in *āhūyavarada* Pose. The head bears a beautifully treated *jaṭamakuṭa* with a row of flowers arranged in the front, which recalls to our mind the wreath of flowers placed around the *kirīṭa* by Lord Śiva in Chaṇḍêśa anugrahamūrti figure. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* is also crowned by a flower, (Fig. 15) and the earlobes bear *patrakuṇḍalas*. The face is extraordinarily graceful. A singular *hārā* adorns the neck, and the *kêyūrās Kaṅkaṇas*, etc., are prominently treated with great realism. The soft and delicately, rounded limbs are undoubtedly from a master craftsman and since, this was found along with the Ardhanārī and other figures it may also be ascribed to the same period. No such remarkable piece of seated Caṇḍêsvara, has so far been reported except perhaps the seated figure[22] in the Madras Museum Collection, (Fig. 16) identified as Aiyanār. Seated figures of Aiyanār are uncommon and this particular bronze in the Madras Museum bears Kêśabandha instead of jaṭāmakuṭa usually seen in Candesvara figures. This figure was acquired as a treasure trove find from the Tanjore District and the *keśabandha* resembles the treatment of hair in Aiyanār figures. The identification of the above figure as Aiyanār is doubtful and in the light of the Tiruveṇkāḍu seated figure, it may be identified as Caṇḍikēsvara. Though the Caṇḍikēsvara bronzes, so far brought to light are standing figures, the Tiruveṅkāḍu figure supplies the seated example. It is too wellknown that the stone sculptures of Caṇḍikēsvara in Śiva temples are mostly seated, the best illustration being the figure from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple. (Fig. 17).

Secondly the *paraśu* is never associated with Aiyanār, while it is always associated with Caṇḍēsvara. The Aiyanār figure holds a bill hook or elephant goad as its symbol. This seated figure holds a *paraśu* in the right arm, while the left arm like the Tiruveṇkāḍu figure, is in the *Āhūyavarada* pose. Though the *paraśu* is not represented in Tiruveṇkāḍu figure, the position of

22. Dr. F. H. Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 128, Fig. 4. (Also O. C. Gangoly 2, Pl. VI, identified as Dakshinamurti).

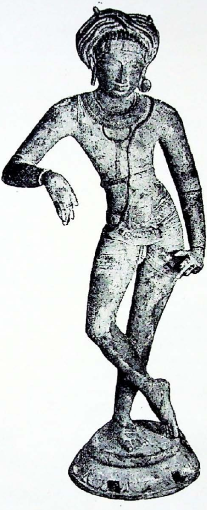

FIG. 1. Vṛshavāhanadēva
Tiruveṇkāḍu Village
Tanjore Art Gallery

FIG. 2. Umā Paramêśvari
Tiruveṇkāḍu Village
Tanjore Art Gallery

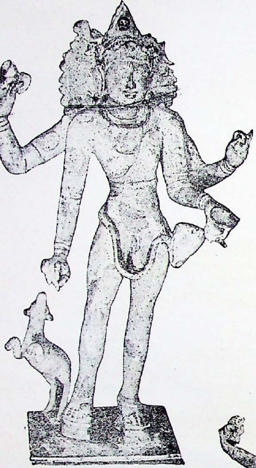

Fig. 3. Piccā Dēvar
Tiruveṇkāḍu Village
Tanjore Art Gallery

Fig. 4. Bhairava
Tiruveṇkāḍu Village
Tanjore Art Gallery

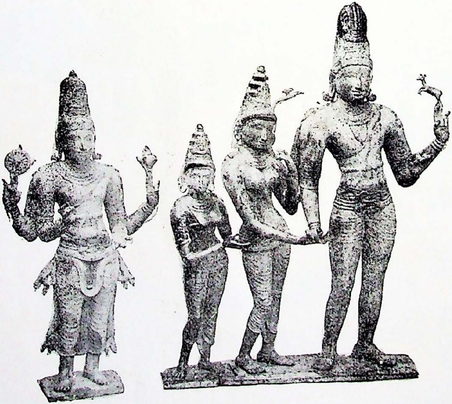

Fig. 5. Kalyāṇa Sundara
Tiruveṇkāḍu Village
Tanjore Art Gallery

Fig. 6. Ardhanārīśvara
Tiruveṇkāḍu
Madras Museum

Fig. 7 Right Profile

FIG. 8. Back View

FIG. 9. Left Profile

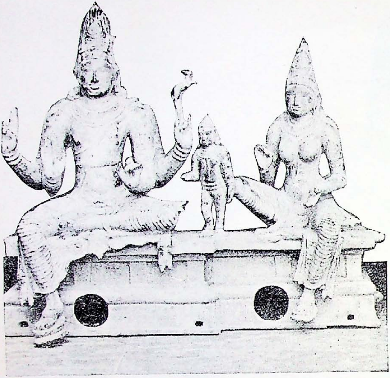

FIG. 10. Somāskanda
Tiruveṇkāḍu
(Under Workship)

FIG. 11. Pārvatī
Tiruveṇkāḍu
(Under Worship)

Fig. 12. Pārvatī
Tiruveṇkāḍu
(Under Worship)

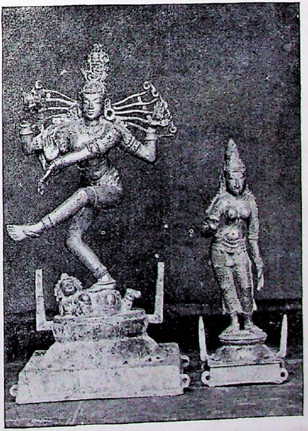

Fig. 13
Naṭarāja and Śivakāmi
Tiruveṇkāḍu
(Under Worship)

FIG. 14. Candikēśvara
Tiruveṇkāḍu
Madras Museum

FIG. 15. Candikēśvara
Back View 1
Tiruveṇkāḍu

Fig. 16. Candikēśvara
Tanjore District
Madras Museum

Fig. 17. Candikēśvara
Tiruvoṟṟiyūr

Fig. 18. Candikēśvara
Vēlānkanni Village
National Art Gallery, Madras

Fig. 19. Candikēśvara
Okkūr Village
Madras Museum

arms and the *mudrās* of both these bronzes are almost identical. It becomes therefore necessary to explain only one aspect to support my identification of this figure as Caṇḍēsvara and that is the treatment of the *Keśa*. I must admit that the treatment of the *Keśabandha* is quite unusual in this figure, for most of the Caṇḍesvara figures as already noted bear *jaṭāmakuṭa*. But jaṭamakuṭa is not invariably associated with the Caṇḍesvara figure for there are examples which bear other forms as well. In the *Āgamas* we meet, with the description of Caṇḍesvara as *jaṭhila* one with braided hairs, *jaṭājūṭaśēkhara* or as one who has *keśa bandha*. Turning to actual specimens the bronze figure of standing Caṇḍēśwara,[23] now housed in the National Art Gallery, Madras, (Fig. 18) gives an interesting example, for though it bears *jaṭāmakuṭa*, the keśa is spread on either side below the *makuṭa*, being tied at the back with a ribbon. Here we have an example, having both *jaṭāmakuṭa* and *Kêśabandha* being associated with this icon.

There is another figure of Caṇḍikēśvara in standing posture, from Okkur, which is also now in the Madras Museum. (Fig. 19). There could be no doubt about the identification of this figure for like all the other figures, it holds a *paraśu* across its right arm. The most interesting point here is the treatment of the hair which is in the form of *Keśabandha* and not as jaṭāmakuṭa.

There is an interesting seated figure at the Rājaśimhesvara or Kailāsanāth temple of Kañchipuram. The figure bearing a terrible countenance, is seated in the *virāsana* pose, with its left leg hanging down and right resting on the pedastel. The left arm is resting on the right foot in the *dhyānamudrā*. Since the right arm is broken from the shoulder, it is not possible to ascertain the pose of the right arm. The *keśa* is spread on either side of the head. The figure which is about 4' in height is in full round and is carved with heavy ruggedness. It is the only figure made of single stone in Kailāsanātha temple and has also suffered from the plastering. That this figure represents Caṇḍesvara is clearly borne out by another similar figure, which is a small replica of this seated figure. It is carved in relief on the wall, just at the back of this seated figure and since it holds a *paraśu* in its right arm, there is no difficulty in the above identification.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 130.

There are two types of Caṇḍēsvara according to the Āgamas called *svatantra* and *paratantra*. The *svatantra* figure is endowed with a separate shrine while the *paratantra* is usually placed in the Śiva temple at the North Eastern corner, facing south, and bears the title of Vīracaṇḍeśa. Viracaṇḍeśa should be represented with two hands and should bear terrible countenance. The seated figure in the Kailāsanātha temple is placed in the North Eastern Corner, facing South and fully testify to the description of the *Āgamas*. The reference to this figure and its identification* becomes all the more interesting because of the treatment of Keśa in it. The *Keśabandha* of this Vīracaṇḍeśa is exactly similar to the seated bronze figure in the Madras Museum identified as *Aiyanār*.

*I am indebted to Sri K. R. Srinivasan, the Superintendent, Temple Survey Projects of Archaeological Survey of India, for the above identification.

MEETINGS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH INDIA DURING 1959-60

6–11–1959. Speaker: Mr. M. Mariappa Bhat, Professor of Kannada, University of Madras.
Subject: Kannada Literature from Inscriptions.

7–11–1959. Speaker: Mr. S. R. Rao, Superintendent, Excavations Branch, Dept. of Archaeology, Nagpur.
Subject: Extension of Harappa Culture.

22– 1–1960. Speakers: Sri T. N. Subramanyan and Sri P. R. Srinivasan.
Subject: A New Copper plate grant of the Pandyas.

23– 1–1960. Subject: (1) A Study of the Kulidiki Inscription.
Speaker: Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras.
Subject: (2) A Fragmentary Inscription of Chola times.
Speaker: Sri T. N. Subramanyan.

17– 2–1960. Speaker: Dr. A. L. Basham, Professor of South-Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
Subject: Three Western Historians of Ancient India.

27– 2–1960. Speaker: Sri T. N. Ramachandran.
Subject: Early Indian Art and Poetry.

30– 3–1960. Speaker: H.E. the Governor of Madras Sri Bishnuram Medhi, released the IV Volume of the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India.

18–10–1960. Speaker: Sri P. R. Srinivasan.
Subject: Evolution of Some Iconographic Concepts.